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prepared for
The U. S. Forest Service
Pacific Southwest Forest and Range Experiment Station

by
Richard G. Ames

The California State University, Hayward
June, 1979

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COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN THE OAKLAND TREE PLANTING PROGRAM

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		PAGE
PREFACE		i
CHAPTER		
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	HISTORY OF THE OAKLAND TREE TASK FORCE . .	4
III	OAKLAND AND ITS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS.	19
IV	TREE PLANTINGS: FIELD OBSERVATIONS	31
V	COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION.	53
VI	TREE SURVIVAL.	74
VII	EVALUATION OF THE OAKLAND TREE PLANTING PROGRAM.	90
VIII	AN IDEAL-TYPE TREE PLANTING EFFORT	102
IX	SUMMARY.	116

PREFACE

Early in the year of 1978 the Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR) formed the Oakland Tree Task Force (OTTF) with the ambitious goal of planting 100,000 trees in the City of Oakland, California. Funds for the project were assembled from a CETA* grant to train urban foresters and a California Department of Forestry grant to provide supporting personnel. Work was then initiated to organize and execute a citizen participation program to plant trees in the city of Oakland.

In an era of increasing sensitivity for social programs, their costs and their benefits, it is appropriate that the U. S. Forest Service sponsor an evaluation of the Oakland tree planting program. A group of sociologists headed by Richard G. Ames of California State University, Hayward, agreed to undertake the evaluation study. Work studying the Task Force began June 1, 1978. This report presents the findings from a first year of study and evaluation of the Oakland Tree Planting Program from June 1, 1978 to June 30, 1979.

Each research project is the result of the combined efforts of many people. From the U. S. Forest Service, Alan Wagar has been the principal correspondent, with advice and assistance offered by Philip Barker. At the California State University, Hayward, appreciation goes to Dr. Shirley Hartley, now chairperson of the department, for providing

*Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (Federal).

the introduction between the Forest Service and the Department of Sociology. Dr. David Graeven has attended meetings and provided assistance and advice. Fred Sklar interviewed corporate contributors to OTTF and ON TOP. Students participating in the study are: Mr. Steven Ahmed, Mr. James Scamanaci, Miss Esther Turner, and Mr. James Hilliard. Also students from Dr. Calvin Davis' class on the Social Organization of the Black Community have been observing Community Development District meetings, and deserve credit and appreciation for their work. Finally, the Oakland Tree Task Force and ON TOP members themselves deserve especial credit and recognition for cheerfully allowing themselves and their work to be studied, for serving as constant sources of information, and for their assistance in reviewing and evaluating the observations of the study staff.

The intent of this study is to provide empirical evidence of the effectiveness of a community-based program of urban reforestation. It is hoped that the results of the study will be able to benefit the community of Oakland, other communities which desire urban renewal through programs of urban reforestation, as well as academic sociology.

Hayward, California
June, 1979

R.G.A.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This report is a study of the Oakland, California Tree Planting Program conducted by the Sociology Department of California State University, Hayward as a cooperative study agreement with the U.S. Forest Service. When the study started, the Oakland Tree Task Force (OTTF) was just getting organized and getting work underway to plant urban trees. The sponsor of the Tree Task Force was the Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR). As originally envisioned, OCCUR would obtain grants to sponsor the paid staff of the Task Force, and then community volunteers would provide the rest of the effort. To this end, OCCUR obtained a CETA grant to hire eight urban forestry trainees, and a California Department of Forestry grant to provide some additional support staff. In addition, the California Department of Forestry supplied Isabel Wade, a Special Consultant to the State, to be the Project Coordinator. With a staff and funds for an eight month project, the OTTF was soon organized and operational.

Oakland is organized into seven Community Development (CD) districts, a legacy of the earlier Model Cities

program. In theory, if neighbors wanted trees, they would make their requests to the local C. D. districts, and the C. D. district would relay the request to the OTTF. Since the C.D. districts act as agents to oversee the use of Federal revenue sharing funds, some of the trees could be purchased by the C.D. districts and the OTTF could arrange to plant them. When there were no funds for the trees from the C.D. districts, the OTTF might have to search for a corporate or civic sponsor, since neither grant contained funds for trees, only for personnel. In practice, the OTTF had to do a lot of neighborhood canvassing to drum up interest in the trees.

Urban forestry is in a re-emergent state. While trees have been planted in cities for hundreds of years, major changes have taken place in U.S. cities since the end of World War II. Wealth, a major urban monopoly for thousands of years, has, in the form of the more wealthy residents, become peripheral to cities, a change which is related to a change in racial composition. Major cities in the U.S. have become black central cities surrounded by white suburban areas. Central areas are now called inner-city areas, and have been the focus of many social programs aimed at renewing the city, and bolstering the level of employability of its residents. With these social and demographic changes to cities, there have been concomitant changes to urban forestry.

One of the lessons of the Watts riots in Los Angeles, and the efforts of community organizers such as Saul Alinsky, is that one does not "do things for" the urban poor, one "does things with" the residents of the community. In other words, one first recognizes the existence of community in an area. And, then, one aids or assists the residents in reaching their goals. Programs designed to implement externally conceived goals are doomed to failure at the outset. The resistance is too great, and the ability to subvert the effort is overwhelming. As a case in point, the Model Cities program decided that trees would be nice, planted two thousand, and had five survive! While the lessons have been painful, the point has been clear: urban social programs must have grassroots support to survive.

Given the existence of this new program of urban tree planting, the U.S. Forest Service was anxious that the program be monitored, and that the parameters of successful effort be established. The Sociology Department at California State University, Hayward, was selected as a study agency. The study began in June, 1978, three months after the groundbreaking plantings, and extended through June, 1979. Since this first year's study was focused around establishing a model for study, the chapters in the report describe the facets of the program as well as areas identified for study.

CHAPTER II

HISTORY OF THE OAKLAND TREE TASK FORCE

The history of the Oakland Tree Task Force during its first year of operation is the history of organization, friction, division, and then the reintegration of efforts of the surviving original organization and the new incorporated group, ON TOP, formed by most of the staff of the original OTTF group. A chronology of the events follows.

In the Spring of 1978 the Oakland Tree Task Force (OTTF) was created by the Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal (OCCUR) as a program of OCCUR's work. OCCUR is an incorporated citizens group with a history dating back to 1954 when it was started through the efforts of Mayor John Houlihan, who appointed a committee of five key executives to advise him on urban redevelopment.[1] Since its initial founding, OCCUR has changed from a group of elite executives to a more widely dispersed power basis of citizens throughout the community. OCCUR has been a major force in shaping policy and has been accepted, since 1973, as Oakland's officially recognized input for citizen opinion. Urban reforestation as a means of renewing the city was

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[1] Edward C. Hayes, Power Structure and Urban Policy (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972), p. 111.

viewed as a valuable component of urban renewal generally.

Once the idea of an Oakland Tree Task Force was formed, an attempt was made to secure funding. The search for external funding was enhanced due to the excellent and longstanding reputation of OCCUR, and also by the fact that it was an incorporated tax-exempt public service corporation. Two sources of funds were found. First, a CETA grant was obtained to hire urban forestry trainees. And, a California Department of Forestry grant was obtained to supply additional manpower. No funds were provided to purchase trees, although the OTTF could cooperate with Community Development Districts to plant trees purchased with Federal revenue-sharing funds allocated to the Community Development Districts.

OTTF was organized and held its first planting of 300 trees on Arbor Day March 7, 1978 at Joaquin Miller Park in Oakland. This Arbor Day event was ceremonial: Governor Jerry Brown and State Resources Secretary Huey Johnson were there to declare the event as the first step toward the reforestation of Oakland. A ceremonial plaque was installed at the site. A site called "Jungle Hill" at Ransom and Santa Rita Road was also planted with 200 trees and shrubs starting on Arbor Day, and a ceremonial plaque installed citing Governor Jerry Brown and State Resources Secretary Huey Johnson.

These two plantings, and one of 12 trees for World Environment Day sponsored by the Environmental Protection

Agency, occured prior to the observational period of the study.

OTTF--June 1978 to March, 1979

Organizationally, OCCUR and OTTF were composed of the following people and positions at the start of the study period.

OCCUR. Paul Cobb was Executive Director of OCCUR. He had previously been in charge of the Model Cities program when the Oakland Community Development Districts, also called "701 Districts," were established.[2] Marie Converse was President of OCCUR. Both Marie and Paul were instrumental in the activities and outcomes of the OTTF.

Joanne Meador was head of the SPEDY Youth program, the Summer Program for Educationally Disadvantaged Youth. Joanne used the SPEDY youth to augment the work of the Tree Task Force. When ON TOP was formed, Joanne was appointed to head OCCUR's Tree Task Force.

OTTF. Within the OTTF, the organization at the time observation began was:
Isabel Wade, Project Director, a Special Consultant paid for by the California Department of Forestry. She held a BA and an MA in political science, and was a former aide to Huey Johnson, State Secretary for Resources.

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[2]Community Development Districts were also called "701 Districts" because Section 701 of the Federal Housing Act of 1954, as amended, provided funds for planning assistance and these districts were set up at that time.

Dana Cole, Associate Director, on the California Department of Forestry grant, and a graduate student in Forestry at the University of California, Berkeley.

Karen Ball, secretary-office manager.

Ted Barnes, photographer, CDF grant.

Hubert Howell, landscape architect, CDF grant.

The urban forestry trainees included:

Harold Brooks

Chuck Cooley

Peggy Datz

Alta Gibson

Don Heidorn

Elois Monroe

Floria Parker

Joseph Taylor

Other CDF grant personnel included:

Dixie Lewis

David Musnick

During the observation period the Task Force members appeared to work together closely and well, often referring to themselves as a "family." Leadership of the tree planting projects was circulated among the Task Force members as part of the training aspect of their mission. This circulation of leadership was well received by the Task Force staff, and appeared to be effective in developing a sense of mastery over the sitaution. In addition to

its effect on the members personally, the circulation of task leadership had the added advantage of working to minimize a rigid authority structure for the group. An interesting departure from a highly stratified group was observed in the tree plantings. When Isabel Wade was the Project Director and Dana Cole the Associate Director, Isabel appeared to do more of the physical work than any other staff member. At a later time, when Isabel had left and Dana Cole became the project Director and Chuck Cooley became the Associate Director, Dana appeared to do more of the hard work of each of the plantings. The higher the staff organizationally, the greater the amount of the physical work they performed. In rigidly stratified groups the reverse is usually true.

The Tree Task Force has scheduled public meetings in the Broadway Building (1419 Broadway), at first weekly, then bi-weekly, and then less often during the observation period from June, 1978 to June, 1979. The following meetings have been observed by the study staff or by a designated person. Meetings are OTTF meetings unless otherwise noted.

1. June 1, 1978
2. June 8, 1978
3. June 15, 1978
4. July 13, 1978
5. July 27, 1978
6. August 10, 1978

7. August 24, 1978
8. August 31, 1978
9. September 7, 1978
10. September 21, 1978
11. October 5, 1978
12. October 19, 1978
13. November 2, 1978
14. December 14, 1978
15. January 5, 1979
16. March 29, 1979--ON TOP
17. May 10, 1979--ON TOP
18. June 7, 1979--ON TOP
19. June 28, 1979

These public meetings, attended by an average of 35 to 50 people, attracted a wide range of participants from the C. D. Districts, community, and City, State, and Federal Government, among others. These meetings served to communicate the activities of the Tree Task Force or ON TOP group, to draw interested volunteers and participants, and to serve as a forum for discussion of tree related topics. Some of the meetings were used as lectures, slide shows, or forums, others were predominately business meetings.

The OTTF held meetings on a regular basis until just after the start of the new year, 1979.

By January, 1979, the OTTF staff was down to a skeleton crew of four half-time personnel. The grants due to expire

December 30, 1978 had been extended to the end of January, but with no increase in funding. The OTTF, the staff vowed, would not go out of existence, but would become a volunteer program.

In February two tree plantings were held by the OTTF, 49th Street on February 24th and 21st Avenue on February 25th. By this time the "staff" were unemployed as the funds had expired at this point. The residents of 49th Street were especially moved when they heard that the people planting trees for them were unemployed and doing the planting as a community service.

After the funding at OTTF had run out, Dana Cole processed incorporation of a community-based tree planting program which was named ON TOP (Oakland Neighborhood Tree Organizing Program). Dana and Hubert Howell paid a four months advance rent on 3803 Broadway out of their own pockets to provide office space for ON TOP. All but one of the original OTTF staff joined ON TOP, although at that time there were no funds for ON TOP either.

Hence, by February 26, 1979, there were two tree planting groups in Oakland. OCCUR's OTTF which filed partial papers of incorporation on February 20, 1979, and ON TOP which fully incorporated February 26, 1979. Since ON TOP was effective in securing most of the former staff of OTTF, they went about the task of trying to obtain funding. This activity has not been met with enthusiasm by OCCUR. The goal ON TOP desired was that they would be

recognized and contract for tree plantings from the C. D. Districts, since the C. D. Districts had Federal funds earmarked for tree plantings.

ON TOP--April 26th onward

As has already been mentioned, ON TOP incorporated February 26, 1979. Membership included Dana Cole, the Project Director, Chuck Cooley, the Associate Director, Karen Ball, the Secretary-office manager, and Hubert Howell, the Landscape Designer. Immediately support was gained from four of the C. D. Districts which appointed persons to the Board of Trustees of ON TOP.

The by-laws for ON TOP call for a 15 member Board of Trustees, up to seven appointed by the C. D. Districts and the rest elected by the general membership. The goal is to have the Board of Trustees represent a cross-section of Oakland.

ON TOP held its organizational meeting Thursday evening March 29, 1979 at the Patten Bible College on Coolidge Street. It was hoped that 100 people would show up. Only about 25 people came, however. Dana Cole opened the meeting and introduced Hubert Howell who discussed the organization and initial efforts of the Oakland Tree Task Force and its early successes.

Environmental education was listed as one of ON TOP's goals. Several projects were listed as being in the planning stage including a Christmas tree farm of 600 to 700 trees on the grounds of Our Lady's Home.

Karen Ball, the secretary-office manager, spoke on their new office at 3803 Broadway, and the need for money and office equipment and supplies.

Peggy Datz spoke on the new emphasis of ON TOP on environmental education. She said that working with trees was a rare opportunity to work with something that crosses age, class, and race lines. The help of different agencies and organizations has helped also, she said. Peggy cited the National Guard, several local universities, the California Department of Forestry, and some private forestry organizations as helping. In addition, Peggy said that the tree program could help teach young people about science as a career and forestry as a career. An international peace forest could help teach history, soil science and religion.

Chuck Cooley publicly thanked the people who had helped in the incorporation of ON TOP. Steve Costa, Taylor Farrell, and Regina Contreras all were mentioned as being the original incorporators of ON TOP.

At the end of the meeting Al Wagar asked for public congratulations for Joanne Meador for showing up (since she, a former Task Force volunteer, was now the Director of

the surviving, and now rival, organization). A round of applause followed. Hubert Howell presented Joanne with a yellow lilly as a peace offering, which she finally accepted.

A second meeting of ON TOP was held May 10, 1979 at St. Augustine's Church. At this meeting it was announced that International Harvester had donated a $12,000 pick-up truck to ON TOP on a six-month leese. A work party was set for the planting of a Christmas Tree Farm at Our Lady's Home on May 19, 1979. And, Ted Barnes showed a slide show that he had produced for ON TOP.

The most important business of the meeting was to discuss ON TOP incorporation and the election of a Board of Trustees. It was announced that six of the seven C.D. Districts had appointed persons to the Board. A meeting was set for June 7, 1979 to elect the Board of Trustees.

At the third meeting of ON TOP, St. Augustine's Church, June 7, 1979, a slate of Trustees was proposed:

Tom Smith--Central East Oakland
Rev. York--Chinatown Central
David Jacobs--North Oakland
Peter Brown--San Antonio
Al Cruz--Fruitvale
Open--Elmhurst
Open--West Oakland
Taylor Farrell--At large
Steve Costa--At large
Linda Fields--At large
Karen Ball--At large
Regina Contreras--At large
John Campbell--At large
Carnell McBride--At large
Linda Morris--At large

The slate was adopted on a unanimous vote. The new Trustees asked that Regina Contreras serve as their interim president until they could meet June 19, 1979 to elect a president from among their ranks.* After a short discussion of some needs in North Oakland, and of the current request for funding from the California Department of Forestry, the meeting was adjourned.

OTTF--February 26th onward

Joanne Meador, the new Director of OCCUR's OTTF, reported that OTTF was now a purely volunteer effort, pending funding. The incorporation of OTTF was in process and work was underway to set up an advisory board from the seven Community Development Districts. In addition, they wanted a technical advisory committee and a curriculum advisory committee to provide additional expertise. Since she had no background in forestry, she said, she was entering the School of Forestry at the University of California, Berkeley, on a part-time basis.

In the first weeks of re-integration of the OTTF program, the biggest worry, they said, was that ON TOP was trying to, and might be successful in, siphoning off funds which might otherwise go to OCCUR's OTTF. Should this happen, they said, they would be most displeased.

Despite the pleas by ON TOP for the two groups to work togehter as a coalition, Joanne felt that this was not possible. She felt the starting of the new group had

*At the June 19, 1979 meeting Regina was confirmed as president of the Board of Trustees.

been too traumatic for a reconciliation.

Joanne viewed ON TOP as having split off from OCCUR. This view is quite different from the view of ON TOP which is that since the staff were all unemployed, funds having run out, that they were free to start any agency they desired to start.

From the perspective of the Study Staff, the divergent views of OTTF and ON TOP boil down to the issue that OCCUR defined the OTTF as a political function and an arm of OCCUR. ON TOP viewed the tree planting program as a service to the public. Neither leadership of OTTF, Isabel Wade or Dana Cole, viewed the OTTF as an OCCUR functionary. Paul Cobb's appointment of Joanne Meador to head OTTF after the loss of Dana Cole may have been an effort to continue OTTF in OCCUR's image.

The next area of embattlement between OTTF and ON TOP was that ON TOP was now trying to gain the support of the Community Development Districts, a move which appeared to be successful. Aileene Frankel of the Office of Community Development appeared to be backing ON TOP.

The work of OTTF would go on, however, said Joanne. She scheduled her first tree planting March 30, 1979, the day following the ON TOP organizational meeting. It was to be a planting in Joaquin Miller Park at the site of Arbor Day 1978 sponsored by a $100 gift from the Contra Costa Hills Natives Society.

In addition to the first planting, Joanne organized and held a May Day tree planting ceremony at Lake Merritt on May 1, 1979. Another plan was for a RARE II (Roadless Area Review and Evaluation) workshop to discuss what wilderness land should be used for. A trust fund to replace flowers at funerals was also being planned. Rather than flowers which are soon gone, trees with memorial plaques would be planted. Already there had been some action on this plan. Neighborhood plantings at this time were not possible due to a lack of funds and a lack of staff.

Current emphasis, she said, would be placed on maintaining viability and visability.

On June 28, 1979, OTTF held its re-organizational dinner meeting to announce the successful incorporation of OTTF as a tax-exempt public service corporation. The original incorporators were Lawrence Joyner, Letitia Bailey, and Stephani Swanigan-Owens. A thirteen member Board of Directors were to be appointed by OCCUR. Planting urban trees with community participation would continue as the goal of the OTTF.

A short discussion of the history and goals of the OTTF were discussed, as well as prospects for the future, including the status of funding applications for 1979-1980. Some CETA funding has been approved, and notice has been received that the State intends some funding of OTTF for the next fiscal year. The Board of Trustees was introduced

as well as the persons who would serve in an advisory capacity. Nominations were made for officers of the Board of Trustees, and a meeting was set for July 7, 1979 for election of officers. Leo Bazille was the presidential nominee.

SUMMARY

This short abstract of the history of the Oakland Tree Task Force and the ON TOP planting groups attempts to provide some insight into the life-dynamics of a civic urban renewal program. Within the one year time span covered by this report, a tree planting program was founded, the Oakland Tree Task Force, under the overall sponsorship of OCCUR. This organization was funded by two grants, one State and one Federal. Staff were hired, the organization planted residential street trees, freeway trees, parkland trees, involved the community through participation in planting and corporate donations, participated in professional meetings, and enjoyed success and acclaim. By February, 1979, the funding of the OTTF had run out and the former staff incorporated a new group called ON TOP which has continued the residential tree planting effort as well as other tree planting activities on a volunteer basis pending the acceptance of funding proposals which are currently under review. The OTTF group, with one staff member, curtailed residential tree planting due to a lack of funding and a lack of staff, and

has turned its attention toward environmental education and the development of training grant proposals in a search for future funding.

Now, at the time of this writing, June 30, 1979, it appears that both OTTF and ON TOP will have funding starting July 1, 1979, OTTF from CETA and the State, and ON TOP from the State. The exact level of funding is not known by the Study Staff at this time.

CHAPTER III

OAKLAND AND ITS COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT DISTRICTS

INTRODUCTION

Oakland, California shares a variety of contrasts. On the one hand, Oakland lies in the heart of one of the world's five Mediterranean regions and hence posesses a distinctive, highly pleasing, climate.[1] On the other hand, in 1964 Oakland was declared a "depressed area" by the U.S. Department of Commerce, based upon the city's persistent unemployment problems.[2] Based upon this designation, the city became eligible for urban planning assistance under Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954, as amended. The city applied for and received an urban planning assistance grant. At that time the city was partitioned into study areas, hereafter called "701 areas." Today the city is partitioned into Community Development Districts; although these CD districts owe their heritage to the "701 areas" they are not identical to them, see Figure I.

As a result of the Federal planning assistance grant, a series of recommendations for Oakland were drawn up.[3]

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[1] Roger Urban, Oakland-A Mediterranean City (Roger Frederic Urban, 1976).

[2] William L. Nicholls and Earl R. Babbie, Oakland In Transition: A Summary of the 701 Household Survey (Berkeley: Survey Research Center, 1969).

[3] Options for Oakland (Oakland City Planning Department, 1969).

FIGURE I -- C.D. DISTRICTS

Abstracts from these recommendations include:

1. "The goal of achieving a basic character as a middle-income community...". (p. 7)

2. "A continuing comprehensive process of 'urban design' should be pursued to seize opportunities, as they occur, and creatively direct physical changes toward a more efficient, more livable, more beautiful, and more dramatic urban environment." (p. 12)

3. "Major efforts should be made to preserve and improve the livability and identifiability of Oakland's neighborhoods. Massive street-tree planting programs should take place in most of the residential area below the MacArthur Freeway." (p. 13)

And, in identifying how these things should be done, the report states:

4. "Endorse a policy of devoting significant attention to neighborhoods and to establishing processes for improving communication between the City and neighborhood residents." (p. 19)

5. "find means of providing true involvement and a greater voice in the decision-making process to the neighborhoods themselves." (p. 19)

Specifically, the report says,

6. "A City-wide street tree program should be developed reflecting guide lines suggested in this report." (p. 21)

The history, then, of an Oakland Tree Planting Program finds its origins in this earlier study, especially its emphasis upon citizen participation and the importance of the concept of neighborhood.

OAKLAND IN A NUTSHELL

Oakland is located on the east side of San Francisco Bay. It has an area of 53.4 square miles and is the seat of government for Alameda County. It is bounded on the

north by the City of Berkeley and on the south by the City of San Leandro. In the middle of Oakland is the small city of Piedmont. Oakland extends from the flatlands of the Bay eastward to the Oakland Hills.

Oakland is the western terminus for the Southern Pacific, Santa Fe, and Western Pacific Railroads. The Oakland Airport is an international airport with a major airfreight terminal and center for supplemental air carriers. Oakland is also the headquarters for the Bay Area Rapid Transit District (BART). The Port of Oakland is a profit making venture and ranks second in handling tonnage of containerized cargo.

Oakland's major industries are food processing, fabricated metal products, transportation equipment, chemicals, and paint. Oakland is also the headquarters of the Clorox Corporation and Kaiser Industries. These two corporations have been instrumental in the re-emergence of the downtown area.

Culturally, Oakland has a handsome museum with gardens. The museum has divisions of Natural Science, History, and Art. Oakland also has a symphony and Chinese Cultural Center. Nearby is the University of California, Berkeley and California State University, Hayward. The residents of Oakland can also attend Mills College, College of Holy Names, Chabot College, Peralta Community Colleges, and the California College of Arts and Crafts.

Oakland is also the centerpiece of a 26,000 acre Regional Park system serving the East Bay. Knowland State Park has a zoo. Lake Merritt, located in the center of the city, includes a botanical garden, wildfowl refuge, a natural science center, and a Children's Fairyland. Surrounded by apartments it is a very relaxing oasis in the city and provides for an assortment of activities including sailing, rowing, picnics, and jogging.

Sports make Oakland a major league city. In the last eight years the Oakland Raiders (football), Athletics (baseball), Golden State Warriors (basketball) have been world champions. Oakland is also home for the Golden Gators (World Team Tennis) and the Stompers (North American Soccer League). The Oakland-Alameda Coliseum complex also hosts concerts ranging from gospel to rock 'n' roll, exhibitions, conventions, and various entertainment road shows. Jack London Square attracts patrons from throughout the East Bay to its fine restaurants and watering holes.

Oakland is the 39th largest city in the United States and the 5th largest in California with a population of 361,561 in 1970. Oakland's black population of 124,710 is the 19th largest in the nation and second in California only to Los Angeles which has 503,606. Since 1950 however Oakland's total population has been slowly declining. Since 1950 the population has declined 5.9 per cent. From 1960 to 1970 the population declined 1.6 per cent.

Beneath this overall decline the non-white population has made startling gains. Between 1950 and 1970 the number of whites decreased 45.8 per cent. During the same time the non-white population increased 162 per cent. The proportion of whites within the city declined from 67.1 per cent in 1960 to 49.3 per cent in 1970. The proportion of blacks in the same period increased from 22.8 per cent to 34.5 per cent. The Spanish community increased from 6.5 per cent to 9.8 per cent. This made Spanish the second largest mother tongue with 5.8 per cent.

Within these general population shifts, age distributions and age differentials changed markedly. In 1960 the median ages for white males and females was 38.1 and 41.2 respectively. By contrast, the median ages for non-white males and females was 25.4 and 25.6 respectively. Concommitant with the population decline, all white age groups decreased in absolute numbers.

The major problem of Oakland is employment or the lack thereof. The differences between white, black, and Spanish unemployment rates are striking and within the general national trend. In 1960 the unemployment rate for white males was 6.0, for blacks 13.8, and Spanish 9.0. By 1970 the black unemployment rate was still double the white rate. However for selected groups Oakland's unemployment rates are higher than national averages. The unemployment rate for all civilian workers is twice the national average.

For males 20 years old and over the unemployment rate is nearly four times the national average and for females it is twice the national average. For both males and females between 14 and 19 years old Oakland's unemployment rate of 30.5 per cent is more than double the national average. It must also be noted that the 15-19 year old age group is 59 per cent non-white.

The structure of Oakland's economy underwent dramatic changes between 1950 and 1970. Private wage and salary positions declined nearly 15 per cent while government jobs increased over 40 per cent. The impact on women was dramatic. At the same time that the private sector was declining, women made a modest gain of five per cent. However, for women the public sector was their primary benefactor. Female employment increased at twice the rate of the public sector as a whole. Since 1958 Oakland has lost 9,000 manufacturing jobs while Alameda County created 13,900 jobs; clearly, jobs were being created faster outside of Oakland.[4]

The poor in each area of Oakland mirror the racial composition of the total population of the area. In the poverty areas of West Oakland, East Oakland, North Oakland and Fruitvale, blacks constitute 60 per cent of the

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[4]Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron B. Wildavsky, Implementation (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 150.

population and 63 per cent of the poor by Department of Human Resources standards and 66 per cent of the poor by Bureau of Work Programs standards. In the non-poverty areas, whites account for 75 per cent of the population and 72 per cent of the DHR poor and 73 per cent of the BWP poor.[5]

The impact of poverty extends beyond the individual or family and into the community. Levy et al., in considering the distribution of school, street department, and library resources or outcomes, find that "by following the course of least resistance, local agencies reinforce a class bias--the more you have the more you get."[6]

Street construction funds have favored major arterials over neighborhood streets due to the earmarking of State gas tax revenues and professional standards of engineers. Both low and high income neighborhoods benefited from new street construction. The former because of urban renewal. The latter because they had no previous streets. Furthermore, street resurfacing expenditures favored upper-income neighborhoods because they were better able to register complaints and upper-income utilities were newer and needed less repair work as opposed to lower-income utilities.[7]

Levy et al.conclude that "Oakland's outcomes ... were

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[5]William L. Nicholls, Poverty and Poverty Programs in Oakland (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966)

[6]Frank S. Levy, Arnold J. Meltsner, and Aaron Wildavsky, Urban Outcomes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974), p. 17.

[7]Ibid. p. 222.

inefficient, had a class bias somewhere between the standards of market equity and equal opportunity, and were responsive to yesterday's demands."[8]

Perhaps it would clarify the circumstances of Oakland if they were compared with the ten communities of Alameda County. Oakland ranks 10th in median family income and percent of high school graduates. Oakland also has higher unemployment rates for males and females, and ranks near the bottom in median school years completed. Overall, for six variables Oakland's mean score is just over 9 and ranks 10th in Alameda County. If Oakland Hills were compared to the rest of Alameda County it would rank 7th in median family income, have the lowest male unemployment rate, the second lowest female unemployment rate, and rank 2nd in both median school years completed and per cent of high school graduates. Oakland Hills would rank 2nd overall behind Castro Valley and ahead of Livermore, Fremont, and Berkeley. While the Oakland Hills area is blighted by a hillside quarry, excessive subdivision grading, and a high-tension power line, it is Oakland's most mature and charming residential district. The area contains a great variety of well-designed, often expensive single-family homes. The street pattern is "organic--curving to follow

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[8] Ibid., p. 246.

the contours of hills and valleys" and is low in traffic volume.[9]

The street pattern in South Central Oakland is "confusing" and "mismatched."[10] In addition, the MacArthur Freeway, though landscaped, tends to act as a divider between neighborhoods. The grids of the streets are treeless and the area is "topographically and architecturally less interesting."[11] The "street system is a great mosaic of uncoordinated grids and partial grids ... (and) many of the lateral arterials ... carry much more traffic than originally intended."[12]

The residential neighborhoods of East Oakland are uniform "stucco boxes" set on treeless streets. The Elmhurst shopping district "is an area of drab, mostly one-story buildings, cheap stores and a chaos of signs which blur into the squallid East 14th commercial strip at both ends."[13] This area has substantial noise problems, is isolated by railroads, the Nimitz Freeway, and industrial barriers, and the street pattern is confusing, and has a depressing, blighting effect.[14]

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[9]Oakland City Planning Department, Oakland Hills, 1969, p. 46.

[10]Oakland City Planning Dept, South Central, 1969, p. 24.

[11]Ibid., p. 33.

[12]Ibid., p. 38.

[13]Oakland City Planning Dept, East Oakland, 1069, p. 33.

[14]Ibid., p. 24.

Homes near the Nimitz Freeway are subject to the constant roar of heavy truck traffic. The area is zoned industrial and this contributes to the deterioration of homes. The area also is "severely lacking in open space and the street pattern is confusing and mismatched, making orientation difficult."[15]

Most of the residential neighborhoods in Fruitvale are "typified by little frame houses on streets usually devoid of street trees."[16] The street pattern is "complex and very irregular and the lateral arterials are barely distinguishable from local streets and carry much more traffic than originally intended."[17]

In North Oakland the "houses are typically two-story frame houses built between 1910 and 1919. Many of the houses are visably deteriorating."[18]

"Overall the street pattern is irregular and confusing and often results in a series of variably tilted grids, hard-to use islands and acute-angle intersections along major streets."[19]

The following quote accurately captures the depressing

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[15]Oakland City Planning Dept, Oakland's Fruitvale Area, 1969, p 23.

[16]Ibid., p. 33.

[17]Ibid., p. 37.

[18]Oakland City Planning Dept, North Oakland, 1969, p. 33.

[19]Ibid., p. 37.

effect West Oakland has upon its inhabitants.

"The undifferentiated grid pattern of streets, many of them in poor condition, draw heavy traffic through its residential streets. Many residences, due to their proximity to factories, railroads and freeways are subject to the powerful blighting influences of industrial noise and truck traffic, freight train switching operations, traffic noises from the freeways and the roar of jet aircraft from the Alameda Naval Air Station. In addition, several residential neighborhoods are cut off from one another by the double-decked Nimitz freeway and by industrial corridors. Community facilities are inadequate or lacking."[20]

The differences in Oakland go beyond statistics. The affluent live in "organic" communities with low traffic volume. The not-so-rich live in an area which is topographically and architecturally less interesting. The poor are subject to the roar of freeways, trains, and jets. Their streets are confusing, mismatched, complex, and irregular and undifferentiated. Their homes are deteriorating and their neighborhoods are divided by freeways and industrial corridors.

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[20]Oakland City Planning Department, West Oakland, 1969, p. 22.

CHAPTER IV

TREE PLANTINGS: FIELD OBSERVATIONS

As part of the study of the Oakland Tree Planting Program, field observations were recorded of the tree plantings. These brief summaries provide data basic to an analysis of the tree planting program and are thus included in this report.

Lowell Middle School, June 8, 1978

Lowell Middle School in the West Oakland C.D. District was selected as a tree planting site because neighbors had identified Lowell School as a possible source of tree vandalism. Seven classrooms, for a total of 175 students, participated in an assembly during which 25 Black Acacias and 3 Black Locust were planted in a school yard. Trees, music, and refreshments were sponsored by radio station KDIA.

The Lowell School planting appeared to be characterized by a few instances of poor organization and consequently the tempo of the planting was sometimes disrupted. For example, the School's sound man had no back-up equipment and inadequate time to check things out. As a result, the mike did not work for the early part of the program. As another example, there was only one set of can cutters available. Cutting cans requires a fair amount of time and hence some tree planting crews had to wait for the can cutter, thus slowing the pace. The school children

were not given their crew assignments ahead of time; hence confusion was added by placing the crew assignment process at a time when planting should have been underway.

Only two sledge hammers were available to stake the trees. Since staking is a time consuming process, one crew did not stake its tree.

Refreshments were provided before the planting was finished. To the school children refreshments signified the end of the work, although the work was incomplete at that time. Those children who cut out of their work the quickest hoarded refreshments from those who stayed with their work crews.

Those factors which tended to support the organization and tempo of the Lowell School planting were the fact that the disk jockey did a good job in spite of the dead microphone, and the fact that Paul Cobb, Executive Director of OCCUR, was masterful in getting the kids to pledge support for the "Black Forest."

In summary, the problem with the Lowell School planting appeared to be its slow pace. With tree crew assignments made, an ample number of can cutters and sledge hammers, etc., the trees would have been planted in an attention-absorbing tempo and the refreshments would have been available at the appropriate time.

Filbert Street, June 10, 1978

The Filbert Street tree planting festival in the West Oakland C. D. District followed six weeks of preparation including neighborhood canvassing and meetings to select the tree species. It was the first in a series of "adopt-a-block" plantings in which an agency would sponsor the tree planting. In this case, Atlantic Richfield Company (ARCO) sponsored the trees, food, and music. Louisana-Pacific Corporation donated "Oak*Land, Can You Dig It" Tee-shirts for distribution to the participants. Thirty-eight Reywood Ash trees were planted by over 200 participants.

Filbert Street is an area of old large Victorian houses in West Oakland. Some of the houses are 80 to 100 years old as indexed by dates in the last century on cornerstones of houses. The area's former grandeur is also indicated by the fact that one of the houses just off Filbert on 16th Street was built by the President of C&H Sugar Company at the turn of the century. Some of the houses have been nicely restored, while others are boarded up, leading to a mixed impression of the area.

It is reported that two years prior to this planting, the Model Cities program planted 2,000 Ginkos in the area and that only five remain.

The Filbert Street planting was a very happy easygoing festival. There was music to attract people from their

houses to the tree planting. A singing group was assembled. The streets were blocked off, making it safe for people to wander about. A large bulletin board describing the trees and their care was set up. Also, a barbecue and refreshment stand was set up in a vacant lot and staffed by a very personable young woman. In general tone, the event was reminescent of a church social on a Sunday afternoon.

Although most of the actual work of planting the trees was done by the staff of the Oakland Tree Task Force and some of the regular volunteers, the neighbors dug holes the night before and helped somewhat with the plantings. Interviews with teenagers indicated that they had respect for the trees, and hoped that the trees would stay up. Small trees were given to residents in flower pots, and these were planted in their yards with a great deal of enthusiasm. In addition, they liked the "Oak*Land, Can You Dig It" Tee-shirts which were distributed, although supplies ran out before everyone had a shirt.

Minor delays were encountered, but the overall planting moved at a good pace.

In summary, the Filbert Street planting was a highly festive occasion with a lot of community activity and support.

29th Street, August 26, 1978

The 29th Street planting in the Chinatown Central C.D. District followed two neighborhood meetings to select species, a slide show, and a film. Eight Pin Oaks were planted with over 100 people in attendance. The trees and food were provided by an anonymous donor, with live music volunteered by the Heart of Oakland Band. The street was blocked-off from through traffic. In addition to the planting of the trees, ground was broken for a large neighborhood garden and seedling production center, including a greenhouse. A memorial tree was also planted to honor a late church treasurer who was an environmentalist.

The 29th Street site is an area of predominately single family houses with an occasional duplex and an apartment building situated between Grove and Telegraph. Some of the houses were Victorian, others were typical city houses.

The overall tempo of the tree planting was very good. Three can cutters were brought this time, with a lead force cutting the cans. The loud band music brought many people out of their houses. The first tree planted had 30 onlookers and helpers. Many teenagers and small children were present. A large percentage of the adults watched the tree planting from their porches. A large elaborately drawn poster display told the residents about the trees and their care.

Interviews with the neighbors indicated that they were very happy with their new trees. They felt the shade would be very important. Also, they reported that the neighborhood looked better already (6 trees had been planted at that time). Some of the teenagers named "their trees" and pledged to water and maintain the trees.

The only perceptable delay encountered was certainly a minor one. People seemed ready to eat at 12:00, yet lunch was not ready until 12:15. The lunch was an assembly line barbecue manned by the Oakland Tree Task Force with hot dogs, and other grilled food, and ice cream bars compliments of Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream. After lunch a boxing match was held in a parking lot for 10 year olds. This match seemed to hold a great deal of interest to the participants.

In summary, the 29th Street planting was a very festive occasion that moved along at a good pace and brought the community out of their houses to participate in the planting.

56th Avenue, September 23, 1978

The 56th Avenue tree planting in Central East Oakland was a small and quiet affair compared to Filbert Street and 29th Street. No leaflets were issued publicizing the event. There was tape recorded music. About 50 people participated in the tree planting. The site is an integrated area of small 1,000 square foot houses built in the 1920s. The developer planted street trees in 1924, according to the

neighbors, and when the trees destroyed the sidewalks the City took them out.

Immediately at the end of the block is Mills College. The street boardering Mills is lined with 50 year old London Plane trees. The area residents voted unanimously to continue the London Plane tree.

The street was barricaded to through traffic allowing people to walk freely about. A large elaborate poster told about the trees and their care. The Board Chairman of Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream, the Central East Oakland C.D. Board Chairman and candidate for City Council were also present for the tree planting.

The trees and some snacks were sponsored by Dreyer's Grand Ice Cream. A large varied lunch, including Daiquiris, was put together by the neighbors.

Interviews with the neighbors indicated that many of them were meeting each other for the first time at the planting. Others who did not come out to the street to talk watched from chairs in their yards.

Also in interview situations, the neighbors spoke very favorably of the community decision-making. They liked to be able to decide what was to be done rather than having things done to them.

One new feature of this planting was the introduction of tags on each tree saying "I am a new babe in the woods"

with the owner's name on it. Through observation it was determined that this was a good idea and tended to humanize and personalize the tree planting.

In summary, this was a quiet tree planting party in a quiet neighborhood. The observers felt it was very successful, not only in solidifying support for the trees but in adding to the neighborhood cohesiveness as well.

82nd Avenue, October 7, 1978

The 82nd Avenue planting in the Elmhurst C.D. District was sponsored by Clorox Corporation, with music provided by a local gospel group from the Calvary Temple Church of God and Christ in the tree planting area. Fourteen Norway Maples were planted. Each individual street planting and environmental project was assigned to one member of the Tree Task Force and responsibility for particular things to be done, i.e., music, food, tree staking, circulated among the Task Force members.

The 82nd Avenue site was very poor economically with a racially mixed population including many Spanish speaking people. Many of the estimated 60 participants were very small children.

In interviews with the project leader of this planting, it was evident that the area was very difficult to organize. The people were poor and did not seem to care very much about what happened. Holes for the trees were dug the night before the planting, and children in the area

filled a few of them up overnight so that they had to be re-dug.

Through observation it was noted that while the children of all races participated in the plantings, the Spanish speaking adults stood 20 feet or so back from any activity.

In interviews some of the neighbors spoke out against the new trees. One in particular, who had four large trees on his property, was especially concerned with the added work necessitated by leaf drop.

In summary, this planting was a quiet planting in a poor neighborhood. The adults did not participate very much at all in the plantings.

Center Street, October 21, 1978

An estimated 150 people participated in the Center Street planting in the West Oakland C. D. District. Eighteen California Pepper trees were provided by Boise-Cascade Corporation, music by a tape player loaned by radio station KDIA, snacks by Sunshine Biscuit Company and the Salvation Army, and an excellent lunch sponsored by the neighbors which included beans with ham, collard greens, and sweet potato pie, among other things.

The level of activity at Center Street stood in contrast to the physical setting. The 300 and 400 blocks of Center Street were bounded on one end by the BART station and on the other end by an auto wrecking yard. Most of the area residents were senior citizens. There were very few children. Some houses looked bleak and were

in poor repair. Other houses had been repainted.

The area was barricaded during the planting to allow pedestrian traffic during the tree planting. Also, a large elaborate poster about the trees and their care was set up for the area residents to read.

In interviews with the neighbors it was found that the City had previously wanted to take the houses. The community had organized in 1968 to stop the city from taking the houses. Now the citizens were trying to build the community up. Curbs and gutters were installed last year for the first time. And, now, the residents were getting street trees. In short, the community residents appeared to have a good idea of what they wanted to do. One resident said their next task was a cleaning up party to put in flowers and shrubs.

The tempo of the planting picked up from a quiet start to a great deal of activity and a very festive feeling.

In interviews with the neighbors they indicated plans for a block club to improve the neighborhood to fix up the houses and to paint them since the city will provide free paint for those willing to repaint their houses. Also, plans were being made to plant a vegtable garden in a vacant lot. The neighbors said they liked their neighborhood because it was so quiet.

An apple dunking at the end of the planting held a great deal of interest and ended the planting on a warm note.

In summary, the Center Street planting was a very unusual planting in many ways. From early morning appearances it did not look like there would be much activity at this planting. As the planting got underway people showed up, portrayed a strong sense of organization and direction, and, despite the fact that it was a poor neighborhood, turned out a magnificent block party lunch. The neighbors were enthusiastic about their new trees and about their community.

Linden Street, December 9, 1978

The planting of 19 Magnolias on Linden Street in the West Oakland C. D. District was sponsored by Central Bank.

Linden Street is an area of larger houses, some vacant land, and some old-style apartments. A few of the older houses have been very nicely restored and redecorated, while there are a few boarded-up and deserted homes. There are some palm trees further down the street from the tree planting, but other than that there are few existing street trees.

There was a pot luck lunch at this planting sponsored by the neighbors. A few adults and a few children were present at this planting. According to the neighbors, the children mostly lived in the apartments. Again, the streets were blocked to through traffic during the planting, and a large poster describing the trees and their care was set up.

The adults present seemed very interested in the trees. Magnolias, they said, were their favorite trees.

At this tree planting two things were done differently than in previous plantings. The OTTF supplied name tags for themselves and for all the neighbors. This seemed a very effective means of introduction. Also, the adults were more specifically and directly asked to do one thing or another to participate in the planting, such as loosening the root ball on the tree just prior to planting it. This procedure also seemed to be effective.

In interviews with the neighbors it was learned that this block had been organized since 1975 in a crime alert organization. This crime alert has been effective in reducing crime by 50 per cent in the area, according to the residents.

The end of the tree planting was celebrated by a lunch set up in the garage of one of the neighbor's house. The woman whose house was used,who was the neighborhood petition leader, said she was interested in doing this because she had worked with Arbor Day earlier in the year. Her husband supplied a diamond blade concrete cutter to make the sidewalk cut required for their tree.

In summary, Linden Street was a successful planting in a neighborhood which exhibited adult and youngster cooperation in the tree planting.

49th Street, February 24, 1979

The 49th Street planting in the North Oakland C. D. District was done by the OTTF staff on an "all volunteer" basis as not only had the project funds expired, but most of the volunteers were unemployed at the time of the planting. Twenty-three Chinese Hackberry, a type of Elm, were planted in this area of mixed races living in 1920s style houses right off upper Broadway near Oakland Technical High School. Sponsorship of the trees was by the North Oakland-Emeryville Rotary Club.

The area of the planting, again blocked off to through traffic during the planting, was alive with activity early in the morning as the sidewalk cuts all had to be made the day of the planting. A diamond blade sidewalk cutter plus crew was furnished by a member of the North Oakland-Emeryville Rotary. Several of the members, including the current year's president and last year's president, were working planting the trees. In this tree planting the sponsors participated heavily in the tree planting effort.

The Task Force members reported that this planting had been "touch-and-go" due to an earlier problem. At community meetings the Tree Task Force had tried to instill in people how important community participation and decision-making were. Two species of trees were selected from a list of four that the nurseries had assured the Tree Task Force were available. Then, when OTTF went to

place the order for the trees, neither of the two types was available. This made the community members angry and disgruntled. Finally, they chose the Chinese Hackberry. Only one person seemed unhappy with this tree choice. The organizer of this planting made both husband and wife sign petitions for the trees to ensure that no family power plays developed over the trees.

One resident who grew up in the area had pictures of the area over time. The area used to have a lot of trees; now there were only a few.

The tree planting party brought many of the neighbors into contact with each other for the first time. In one case involving two families who had never met previously, one neighbor, who was a seamstress, gave another neighbor's daughter a dress she had made.

In interviews with the residents, the neighbors were very proud of their neighborhood. There were a lot of younger middle class white families who said that they had chosen to live in Oakland rather than the suburbs in Concord or elsewhere. They said that Oakland was getting more community oriented all the time, and that they would not want to live anywhere else. They liked the polyethnic variety of the area and also the variety by age.

The neighbors spoke very supportively of the tree planting because it had brought them together. And, the Rotary president and other Rotary members present were

extremely pleased with the tree planting for the same reason. This was, they said, one of their best projects ever. Not only did it help bring the community together, it helped beautify the neighborhood and the city. The Rotary club promised to help other areas as they had available funds.

At the conclusion of the tree planting there was a magnificent lunch sponsored by the neighbors. Also, at the conclusion of the planting the Oakland National Guard provided a truck and some assistence in the removal of dirt and concrete. The Oakland Scavenger Company set aside their dumping fees as a contibution to the planting.

In summary, the 49th Street planting was a most successful tree planting, enhancing the solidarity of the neighborhood and providing the North Oakland-Emeryville Rotary a reafirmation of the worth of their civic function.

21st Avenue, February 25, 1979

The planting at the 21st Avenue site in the San Antonio C. D. District was again done by the OTTF staff on a strictly volunteer basis. It should also be noted that this planting was the first to be held on a Sunday. The planting was sponsored by Leslie Mayne and Associates, Arborists Consultants, Burlingame, California. Leslie Mayne saw the slide show produced by the OTTF at the National Urban Forestry Conference in Washington, D.C. and made a donation to the Oakland Tree Task Force to sponsor a planting.

Eighteen Magnolias were planted in this community of mostly single family housing. One abandoned house was on the street as well as a small grocery store.

One of the neighbors who tried to have the city take care of the abandoned house heard of the tree planting program and organized the effort to have the trees planted. The neighbors were not very enthusiastic about the new trees from accounts both of the residents and the Tree Task Force staff. In this block the Tree Task Force encountered a fair amount of family bickering over the trees. If the husband signed the permission to plant the tree, the wife would attempt to stop the planting, or vice versa. Finally the Tree Task Force made both family members sign permissions, where appropriate.

Not many adults, and only a few children, came out to view the activity. Some helped in the plantings. Leslie Mayne, the sponsor, actively planted many of the trees.

Despite the low level of activity, one resident said that the planting was the most "community feeling" that she had seen on the block. Apparently the first tree selection meeting drew six residents, and then the people lost interest.

One tenant reported having had an argument over the planting of a tree in front of her apartment with her landlord. The tenant gave permission for the tree; the landlord, hearing of this, said no, that criminals might

hide behind the tree. (This area is a "red-alert," or high crime rate district.) Finally, the landlord gave permission for the tree to be planted when the tenant convinced her that it was unlikely that a criminal could hide behind such a small tree.

No luncheon of any kind was held at this tree planting.

In summary, the 21st Avenue tree planting was a very quiet planting with not as much involvement by community residents. The area has little sense of community, and the interest in the trees by both adults and children appeared to be minimal.

Joaquin Miller Park, March 30, 1979

The March 30th planting at Joaquin Miller Park was a re-planting at the same site as Arbor Day, March 7, 1978, the lead-off planting by the Oakland Tree Task Force a year ago from this time. For this planting the situation was changed from that of a year ago. Rather than a celebration attended by State officials, this planting was carried out by a K-3 class of about 30 kids, parents, and teachers and was done after all the funding had run out. The 56 trees for this project, Oakland's official Oak, were a gift of the Contra Costa Hills Natives Association.

The site of the planting, at Skyline and Castle, is a dish-shaped sector of trees and suffering soil erosion as a result of the loss of Eucalyptus trees which died during the big freeze several years previously. Some

plantings a year ago of Redwoods and Montery Pines were dying or growing very slowly due to a lack of water and due to the fact that the Coast Redwood was a poor choice for that particular site, although redwoods survive nearby, according to the ranger assigned to the park.

The planting was an approved field trip for the school children who participated enthusiastically in the planting.

In summary, the Joaquin Miller planting by a K-3 class was an attempt to keep the machinery of OCCUR's Tree Task Force moving after the loss of their funding.

Lake Merritt, May Day, May 1, 1979

On May 1, 1979 a May Day celebration was organized by OCCUR's OTTF which included a traditional May Pole dance by the children of Peralta Elementary School, a ceremonial tree planting, and a disco to "boogie at the Bandshell" next to Lake Merritt. The tree was planted in memory of a deceased Oaklander.

Approximately one hundred people turned out for the celebration including Paul Cobb from OCCUR, Elijah Turner, Evillio Grillio, as a representative from the Mayor's office, representatives from the U. S. Forest Service, a visiting forester from Holland, as well as members of the Oakland community and others. The press came to film a presentation for local T.V.

In summary, the May Day celebration and tree planting appeared highly successful. It was a very festive event

and drew community notables as well as citizens. The news media filmed a T.V. presentation for wider public recognition.

81st Avenue, June 9, 1979

The planting in the 1300 block of 81st Avenue was organized and conducted by the ON TOP group as a purely volunteer effort with the trees sponsored by Kaiser Aluminum.

In interviews with the neighbors, the community residents stated that they were very happy to be getting street trees. One neighbor reported that they had asked (the City) 10 years ago for trees and were told "no." Now they were fulfilling a longstanding desire. Immediately prior to today's planting there were no street trees on the block, although one neighbor reported that 2 or 3 years ago that trees were planted and that none had survived.

The 81st Avenue site was 1920s style houses of quite varied appearances, a few apartments, and a church, situated just off East 14th Street.

Eighteen Chinese Hackberry trees were planted as a gift from Kaiser Aluminum. Kaiser sent their representative, Pat Marino, to view the planting. In addition, David Pesonen, the new Director of the California Department of Forestry, came to attend the planting.

This planting seemed to be marked by a lower level of participation by community residents, although not a lower

level of enthusiasm, but a high level of participation by volunteer effort. There were many of the former staff of OTTF, representatives from the C.D. Districts, Office of Community Development, forestry students from the University of California, Berkeley, and friends of ON TOP volunteers, as well as people from OCCUR.

Three extra trees were brought to the planting--and three people wanted trees after they saw the trees being planted.

The new International Harvester pick-up truck, on a free leese, was used in the planting.

Neighbors brought out soft drinks and Kool Aide for the volunteers planting the trees.

In summary, the planting of 81st Avenue seemed very successful in terms of neighborhood enthusiasm and in terms of volunteer effort in support of the tree planting.

Plantings not attended

It was simply not possible for all tree plantings to be attended by members of the study staff. For one reason or another the following plantings were not observed.

88th Avenue, January 15, 1979

Twenty Magnolias, sponsored by Sea Land Corporation, were planted in the 2300 block of 88th Avenue in the Elmhurst C.D. District on a very wet Monday in a planting that had to be rescheduled from a Saturday (when it was

pouring rain). As a result of the fact that the planting was on a Monday, and that it was a wet day, few of the residents participated in the planting.

The 88th Avenue site is an area of small houses on one side of the street with clusters of small, barracks-like, apartments on the other side of the street.

In summary, the 88th Avenue planting was on the quiet side due to the factors of rescheduling, rain, and the Monday date.

Grove-Shafter Freeway, various days

During the regular work days the OTTF staff and volunteers planted approximately 600 Giant Sequoias along the banks of the Grove-Shafter Freeway. These trees were presented as "tublings" in a gift from the University of California.

Our Lady's Home, May 19, 1979

As the inaugural event of the ON TOP group, a planting of 300 Christmas Trees was held at OUR LADY'S HOME, 35th and Foothill. On June 5, 1979, World Environment Day, Governor Jerry Brown planted a tree at the Christmas Tree farm. This event was given coverage in the Oakland Tribune.

SUMMARY

These sketches have attempted to capture some of the events that have taken place during the year of observation

and study of the Oakland Tree Planting Program, both the OTTF and ON TOP groups. Again, the goal of both groups has been to provide community participation in the selection, planting, and care and protection of the trees.

CHAPTER V

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

A central tenant of the Oakland Tree Planting Program is that community participation is an essential ingrediant for a successful tree planting program. This tenant has lead to a formal hypothesis for this study: the greater the community participation, the greater the survival of the trees over time.

Community participation in the tree program can be gained in several ways and at different stages of the tree planting program. The first is in the initiation of the request for the trees. Then, in the species selection process. Community participation can be gained in the tree planting activity itself. And, finally, participation can be gained in the follow-up care of the trees. We will explore each of these areas in turn.

REQUEST FOR TREES

Requests for the trees were to come from the community residents to the Community Development Districts, and from there are forwarded to the OTTF. From one perspective, the need for urban trees was clearly present: one half of all the 750 miles of strees in Oakland are without street trees. However, getting the residents interested in street trees was not an easy task. Many of the residents appeared to be apathetic about what happened to their neighborhoods.

Others were very hostile to street trees. A major concern of many of the residents, particularly in the poorer areas, was that trees were unsafe as criminals could hide behind them and jump out at people. From a sociological sense, this may be a valid concern as the victims of crime tend disproportionately to be the poor. To counteract these negative and apathetic views, the OTTF spent a great deal of their time lobbying the neighborhoods, presenting slide shows on trees and tree plantings, and in other ways generating support for the trees.

One method employed to generate interest in the trees was through young people. Schools had their children compete in poster contests for Arbor Day, with the winning class to receive a field trip to a park. Trees were planted by students at Lowell School with released time from classes. One planting was held in Joaquin Miller Park with a Kindergarten through third grade class and their parents. It was hoped that the children's interest in trees would stimulate the parents to request trees for their neighborhoods.

Another method of formulating a demand for trees is the development of special tree planting plans. A "Black Forest" (Black Acacias) was planted at Lowell School. A Biblical Forest was planned. An international peace forest was another plan. Christmas tree farms were planned. "Jungle Hill," a previously unsightly vacant

area, was planted with trees and shrubs. In short, the Task Force scouted the area for vacant land which could be given some special treatment.

The publicity given to each planting or event served as a main mechanism of recruitment for interest in the trees. Many neighborhoods which were unresponsive to canvassing efforts would suddenly request trees when an adjoining street would have a tree planting. Press coverage also served to increase interest in the trees and the tree planting program.

SPECIES SELECTION MEETINGS

Once an initial request for trees was made, species selection meetings were held. A nice color photography brochure describing the trees was distributed. This brochure described the properties of a number of different species which have growth habits consistent with their use as street trees. Species selection meetings often included slide shows and other demonstrations of street trees. Although the idea of holding the meetings was to allow a democratic selection process, some of the discussions were dominated by children whose arguments were often not very rational. In one instance, 29th Street, the adults re-considered a decision dominated by children, and overrode a prior decision. At times, the democratic process backfired, or nearly so. At the 49th Street planting site,

a great emphasis was placed on the notion of citizen participation: it was they, the residents, who should decide what trees were planted. The residents selected two species from a list of four; neither of the two were available when the order was placed. An alternative choice was selected by the Task Force. This event angered the residents who said "see, you are just going to tell us what trees will be planted." After a cooling off process, only one resident seemed dissatisfied.

Another problem with community participation appeared to be the placement of the trees on the block. Each family was given a choice as to whether or not they were to receive a tree, and where, exactly, it would be placed on the street. Initially, the OTTF secured a petition signed by one member only of a family. On one planting site, 21st Avenue, family rivalry centered around which member of the family would get their way. Hence, a Task Force member would be digging a hole for the tree, and one member of the family, say the husband, would come out and try to stop the process. Then the other member would say "Yes, we want the tree, please continue digging the hole." Finally, the Task Force made both husbands and wives sign the petition for trees.

TREE PLANTINGS

One mechanism for securing the participation of the community in the tree plantings was to make the plantings

a festive affair, often with a live band or recorded music, and a barbecue lunch. Especially festive was the Filbert Street planting which brought an estimated 200 people out to plant 38 Reywood Ash. Where possible, streets were cordoned off to prevent cross-traffic and to allow people to walk freely about the tree planting site. The music got people out of their houses to watch or participate in the plantings. The barbecue lunches provided a very mellow setting which provided an opportunity for people to meet their neighbors, many for the first time. From a sociological perspective, these tree plantings were significant events in an otherwisely routine neighborhood setting. In interviews with residents nearly a year after the plantings people remembered the exact date of the tree planting and remembered events in vivid detail. In interviews with residents, many looked back at the food and social experience with fond rememberances.

All but one of the residential plantings was held on a Saturday or a Sunday to facilitate community and volunteer participation.

At some of the tree plantings free "Oak*Land Can You Dig It" Tee-shirts were distributed, thus serving to identify the residents with the Task Force members, most of whom wore the Tee-shirts. At some plantings name tags were distributed so that residents and Task Force people were identified and personalized. The name tags were

effective in promoting a sense of community among all participants. Tags saying "I am a new babe in the woods" were placed on trees giving the "owner's" name. This also tended to solidify support for the trees from the neighborhood residents. At some of the later plantings, members of the Task Force forced participation of the adults in the plantings by making them loosen the root ball or some similar activity. This act appeared to be very successful in forcing identification with the trees. It should be noted that most of the participation in the plantings came from young children. The older children often simply stopped by to see what was happening and then left, and the adults usually watched, often from their porches or lawns rather than becoming active participants.

FOLLOW-UP TREE CARE

Several mechanisms were employed to engage the residents in follow-up tree care. One of these mechanisms was the use of billboards during the planting which described the tree species and its care. Members of the Task Force would ask area residents if they had read the billboard, and if they had not, the Task Force member would take them over to the billboard and review with them the care of the trees. Another mechanism of gaining continued care for the trees was to ask the young children to pledge to take care of the trees. In addition, Task Force members would ask

the children what they were going to name their tree. Obtaining commitment and personalizing the trees both seemed effective in getting people to take care of their trees.

DEMOGRAPHIC CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION

Age was related to participation in a variety of ways. The young children were always present in great numbers although they were able to do only small tasks such as hold the hose to water the trees. Older teenagers frequently "came by" for a look, and then were gone, although a few helped dig holes and plant trees. Most young adults watched and talked to their neighbors. Women who helped, helped more often with the food than with the planting of trees *per se*. The one category of persons who did not appear to participate in planting activity was Mexican-American adults who, by-and-large, watched from their own lawns and did not even step out into the street.

SOCIAL CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION

It might be easy to speculate that the higher social class of the area the greater the participation in the tree planting activities. The data from this study, however, do not support such an argument. There are high and low rates of participation at both ends of the social continua of areas studied, although the areas studied do not represent the range of social class areas to be found in the City of Oakland.

PUBLIC BEAUTY CORRELATES OF PARTICIPATION

It was hypothesized that the higher the level of existing public beauty, the higher the level of participation in the tree plantings. This hypothesis was not supported by observations made at the tree plantings.

OTHER COMMUNITIES WHICH PARTICIPATED IN THE TREE PLANTINGS

Community neighbors are not the only communities which participated in the tree plantings. Among some of the other communities of participants were area-wide citizens, corporate entities, civic organizations, representatives from the C.D. Districts, and a host of persons from corrollary public service organizations such as Parks and Recreation, the California Department of Forestry, the U. S. Forest Service, other foresters, Office of Community Development, other OCCUR programs, persons from colleges and universities in the area, and political figures.

The types of participation by other agencies and people could take the form of attendance at OTTF or ON TOP meetings, attendance at tree plantings, and/or funding of programs or activities.

Often during the public meetings of OTTF and ON TOP, agencies would present slide shows, movies, or public lectures of interest to persons involved in planting trees. Among these people were Dennis White from the Saratoga Horticultural Society, Tony Acosta from Oakland Parks and

Recreation, William Penn Mott from the East Bay Zoological Society, Mr. Peter Hayes from the University of California, Berkeley, Larry Joyner, Paul Cobb and Marie Converse from OCCUR, George Coombes from the University of California Extension, Kirk Peterson from the International Palm Society, Bill Patterson, Oakland Parks and Recreation, Ms. Daina Maronne, Mr. Art Magill, Dr. Philip Barker, and Mr. Robert Gustafson all of the U. S. Forest Service, and others including Governor Jerry Brown at the Arbor Day planting in 1978 and at the Christmas Tree planting in 1979. This list is not designed to be exhaustive but rather to illustrate the range of types of communities of people who have participated in meetings or plantings of OTTF or ON TOP.

CORPORATE PARTICIPATION

Of these "other communities" which have participated in the tree planting program, corporate participation needs to be singled out for special discussion. Due to the nature of the funding of OTTF, and the strictly voluntary nature so far of ON TOP, some form of linkage to other funding units has been a necessary feature of these tree planting programs. When OTTF was organized, funds for personnel and office space and supplies only were obtained through a CETA grant and a California Department of Forestry grant. Funds for the trees, block parties, and the like, had to come from other sources. In the early phases of OTTF a great deal of the effort was devoted to fundraising activities. Based on

internal memos, the OTTF staff at one time felt that this was an inefficient use of their time. In later discussions, the staff feels that the corporate involvement is an integral aspect of community participation in several ways. First, it identifies to the neighborhood residents that other people, other than the City government, have some feelings toward them and consider them and their neighborhoods important. Second, it provides the basis for a more complete definition of community. A "community" is something much greater than the neighbors who happen to live on one street or another. A community is a system of interactive parts, quite dissimilar, but each necessary for the existence of the other parts. Corporate involvement in the tree plantings helps complete this larger conceptualization of a community.

As an index to the extent of corporate contributions to the OTTF and ON TOP programs, there have been over 33 major corporate sponsors in addition to personal gifts and contributions. Under the "adopt-a-block" program sponsors have included ARCO, Dreyers Grand Ice Cream, Clorox Corporation, Boise-Cascade, Central Bank, Sea Land Corporation, the North Oakland-Emeryville Rotary Club, Leslie Mayne and Associates, and Kaiser Aluminum. Other major contributions have included a new 4-wheel drive pick-up truck by International Harvester, Office equipment from Bank of America, Tee-shirts by Louisana Pacific Company. This list is in no way an exhaustive list of contributions, but suggests the range of

corporate involvement and sponsorship.

If the OTTF/ON TOP staff feel corporate participation in the tree planting is desirable, or necessary, how do the corporations feel? What are their motivations to participate? Do the corporations have a responsibility to the communities where they are located?

Corporate responsibility is a concept that touches many bases. To some it means that a firm has an obligation to provide decent pay and working conditions to its employees. To others it means that a company should have an aggressive affirmative action program. Some would say that corporate responsibility refers to a "good neighbor" policy that calls for a company to consult with its surrounding community before making major decisions that might affect neighborhood character. Finally, corporate responsibility often means that a company actively attempts to participate in upgrading its surrounding community.

In recent years, considerable public attention has been focused on the latter two meanings of corporate responsibility. As a consequence, many firms have found themselves justifying formerly unquestioned corporate practices in terms of environmental and aesthetic impact statements. In addition, firms have begun to search for means to demonstrate voluntarily their environmental and aesthetic responsibilities to a concerned community. One means to exhibit a commitment to environmental

improvement has been through contributions to the Oakland Tree Planting Program.

As described earlier in this chapter, the Oakland Tree Planting Program has relied heavily on corporate sponsorship. This analysis is an exploratory study of how corporate contributors to the project perceived the value of the project to themselves and to the community. Information for the analysis is based on interviews conducted with a small randomly selected sample of executives of corporations that made major contributions to the Oakland Tree Planting Program.

Based upon the research conducted, the tree planting project appears to be successful from the standpoint of the corporate contributors. To begin with, the project appears to have been an important outlet for contributors to be "good corporate citizens." For not only were the trees and tree plantings viewed as worthwhile in an abstract sense, but for some firms the plantings provided an opportunity to widen neighborhood improvement projects in which they already were involved. With respect to trees themselves, every respondent had a positive view. Declared one: "I'm a tree nut. Trees are great. Trees provide a lot of subtle benefits. I live where there are lots of trees, and I would like others to have trees, too." Noted another respondent, "Trees beautify the place." This respondent also pointed out that the trees provide a sense of stability

for the residents. "Trees give the residents something to care for. They watch the trees like a pet."

In the light of such positive evaluation, respondents reported their companies easily found room for the tree plantings in ongoing programs. For example, one respondent stressed how her firm was in the process of revitalizing a neighborhood in East Oakland by establishing a youth center. When given the opportunity to "adopt-a-block," this firm quickly chose the one in which it already was active, thereby widening the scope of its participation in the area. As the respondent put it, "We wanted to upgrade the neighborhood, and the (tree) project just fell into line." In the same vein, another firm has been involved in a four year neighborhood revitalization project, and the tree plantings meshed easily with this activity. By contrast, another respondent noted that the project simply fit into a general pattern of supporting the city. Toward this end, his firm buys season tickets to athletic events, belongs to the neighborhood business association, and is active in voter registration drives. Stated this respondent, "We do what we can to boost the city of Oakland."

That corporate contributors believed in the value of the project is seen in the willingness of these organizations to participate in the tree planting ceremonies beyond the donation by sending representatives to the event. For some, participation included little more than attending the

ceremony and mixing with the gathering. One respondent stated that she "just talked with the people. It was just an experience to see how the community was involved with the project." On the other hand, another respondent, the company's board chairman, actually planted trees. As he described the experience, "I got in and dug, planted trees, listened to rock music, drank some beer, and had a good old time." Additionally, he spoke to the gathering. Another respondent, a vice-president, also was quite active at the planting ceremony. As he put it, "I met a lot of people. I assisted in planting trees, and I attended a neighborhood pot luck. But I didn't give any formal talk." Regardless of the extent of interaction during the ceremonies, the fact is that the ceremonies were successful in providing contributors an opportunity to interact informally with the community, an activity that the respondents evaluated favorably. Through such participation, the contributors could become less faceless philanthropists and more personalities with positive identies for the community-at-large.

The level of corporate satisfaction is seen not only in a willingness to send representatives to the plantings and for these representatives to interact with the neighborhood residents, but in a surprisingly cavalier attitude toward publicity that might accrue from the contribution. For example, two respondents expressed

satisfaction with the level of the community's awareness of their firm's contribution, but at the same time stated that their firms were not especially concerned with recognition. One respondent declared that it was "not our purpose" to generate community awareness, although "we feel the community is aware and appreciates our effort. This was not advertising. It is an entirely different budget just intended to help the community." The other respondent remarked, "We don't do things on a quid pro quo basis." In fact, this respondent pointed out that, "There was talk of a plaque (on the adopted block), but I don't know if it was ever done. The project was just fun to do." This respondent expressly recognized, however, that his firm's contribution could have important political implications beyond the plantings, and in fact he was less concerned that residents of the adopted block be aware of his firm's contribution than that "City Hall" know of the company's grant. He noted that occasionally "we may make noise that causes someone to complain downtown. The fact that we are known to be a community contributor helps smooth things over." A third respondent reported her firm did nothing to publicize its contribution other than send her to the tree planting ceremony. She was, however, quite aware of what was done to publicize her firm's contribution by the Oakland Tree Task Force, and this seemed important to her. She pointed out

that not only was the contribution mentioned during the ceremony, but that leaflets were passed out mentioning the company. In addition, she noted that a billboard in the area announcing the plantings included the firm's name, as did a story in the Oakland Tribune. The respondent seemed especially pleased because the firm gained considerable publicity for its "small grant." Only one respondent was dissatisfied with the level of community awareness of her firm's contribution. In fact, she did not believe that anyone knew of her firm's contribution except the Oakland Tree Task Force. She declared that not only was the tree planting ceremony postponed because of poor communications from the Oakland Tree Task Force to her office, but that when the ceremony did take place heavy rains discouraged anyone in the community from attending. Moreover, she stated that no plaque was set identifying the firm as having adopted the block, nor, as far as she could determine, was there any publicity in the media.

Although the above respondent held very negative views about the management of the plantings, this experience may have been unique because the remaining respondents were satisfied to the point where they expressed complete approval with the way in which the plantings were handled. When asked about whether they had control over their contributions, which might be desired if there were any doubts about the Oakland Tree Task Force, these respondents declared that

not only were the grants given with no strings attached, but that no strings were wanted. Indeed, the respondents expressed a strong belief that those in charge of the plantings were highly qualified. Stated one respondent, "We did not want any control over the plantings. They were handled in a skillful manner. There were no problems whatsoever." Another respondent described the Oakland Tree Task Force as "hard working people who did an excellent job." As far as he was concerned, he was "very satisfied with the group. They did an excellent job." Echoing these views, a third respondent pointed out that, "We had control in that we had a choice of projects. But we didn't want otherwise. The people in the project knew what they were doing." Added the respondent, "I liked the fact that the money was going to something specific. We knew how many trees were to be planted. It wasn't just some committee arguing over general matters and coming up with no firm answers."

In view of their expressed satisfaction, would the corporate contributors repeat their contributions? In other words, were they sufficiently pleased to repete their participation in the tree planting program? Two respondents gave an unqualified "yes." As one noted, "I have no negative views." A third respondent stated that a repeat contribution would be based upon priorities: "It depends on the amount of funding, where the planting is, the number of trees, other projects. But philosophically we're still behind it." On the

negative side, the dissatisfied respondent mentioned above stated that her firm "would never do it again."

In summary, the preliminary findings indicate that the tree plantings have been a remarkably successful device for corporations to express responsibility toward their surrounding community. Of course, on the basis of a limited number of interviews it is difficult to reach anything but tentative conclusions. It is possible, for example, that further interviews might turn up additional strongly negative views. On the other hand, because respondents were chosen randomly it is plausible that the views that were uncovered are representative of contributors generally. But even with the limitations of the data, it nevertheless appears that if corporations are seeking ways to demonstrate responsibility to their community, trees can provide at least one avenue. Indeed, in an era in which even motherhood is under attack, trees seem one of the few positive things remaining, transcending race, sex, and social class interests, thus making tree plantings "safe" investments. Moreover, trees have a bonus benefit of allowing corporations to point directly to their "good works," for trees are tangible entities, things that one always can see and touch. Barring vandalism or disease, trees are fairly lasting monuments to the corporate contributors themselves.

All told, then, this research suggests that corporate contributors to the Oakland Tree Planting Program have

received considerable benefits from the plantings, in some cases for a relatively small outlay per firm. In the long run, however, a serious issue may emerge. That is to say, the trees will require everyday upkeep. Moreover, as the trees grow they may block views or branch out dangerously over streets and houses, thus creating legal and public safety problems. Although the City of Oakland is technically responsible for the trees, the lines of responsibility for their future upkeep may blur, especially as population turnover occurs or if public funds become more competitive. In view of the fact that some of the tree plantings are, or may be, accompanied by a plaque identifying the donors, the public may come to hold the donors responsible, thereby taking the notion of corporate responsibility further than the participating firms might have had in mind. In the future, therefore, it is possible that the contributions may return to haunt the contributors. Whether awareness of such consequences might dim the enthusiasm of corporate contributors and thus hinder further contributions needs further investigation.

SUMMARY

Community participation in the Oakland Tree Planting Program is viewed by the program directors as essential to the project and necessary for the survival of the trees. Public sentiment in the era starting with the 1960s has

been one of the community "doing things" rather than an impersonal political entity "doing things at" the people. The goal has been to let the neighborhoods initiate the requests for the trees (perhaps with a gentle assist), let them participate in the selection of the tree species (from a list of approved street trees), let them help plant the trees, and charge them with the responsibility for their watering and protection. And, allow wider community involvement through corporate sponsorship on an adopt-a-block basis.

How well has this program of community involvement worked? Has it accomplished its goals of public acceptance and support of the tree planting program? And, are the trees surviving any better with community participation than without?

Based upon interviews with the neighbors, citizen participation in the program is highly appreciated. Over and over again the neighbors would tell the study staff how much they appreciated participating in the tree selection and planting process and how little they liked people "doing things to them" without their advice or consent.

Corporate contributors, by-and-large, were also satisfied with their contributions to the community through the tree planting program. Motives appeared to range from pure altruism through environmental concern, to the notion

of picking up "brownie points" in City Hall.

In terms of tree survival, although this is discussed in a later chapter, the available evidence suggests that the trees planted through the community participation programs, OTTF and ON TOP, have a higher survival rate than trees planted by the Oakland Public Works Department.

CHAPTER VI

TREE SURVIVAL

A central feature of the analysis of a tree planting program is tree survival. It would scarcely matter how many trees were planted if they did not survive. Lack of survival can be due to a variety of factors such as biological insufficiency, improper planting, lack of water (or improper watering), poor choice of tree species for area or soil conditions, insect damage or diseases, and, most importantly, the range of human induced traumas such as vandalism, accidental damage, and the like. For trees planted in a natural setting the former conditions are likely to be operative in tree survival rates; in urban settings it is the latter, the human induced traumas, which are more likely to determine the survival rate. It is for this reason, among others, that urban forestry is going to be different from traditional conceptualizations of forestry based on experiences in National Forests and similar forest preserves.

According to Forestry estimates, it takes about three years for a tree to become established on its own.[1] Once a tree passes these crucial years, mortality due to accidental damage or vandalism is reduced, as well as its dependance on watering schedules and other positive

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[1]Personal communication to the author by Dr. Philip Barker, U.S. Forest Service.

interventions in its care. Since this study covers only one year's time, the maximum survival we can report on is one year. Many trees, of course, have been planted a considerably less time.

Several periodic reviews of the trees were made once the trees were planted. As a means of describing the tree survival, field observations are presented in the same order as the tree planting field observations, Chapter IV. Tree survival has been measured in the following three categories:

MILD DAMAGE: Branches broken, minor damage to cambium, minor water deficiency, damage to staking of the tree.

MODERATE DAMAGE: Damage to cambium such as removal of chunks of cambium, severe defoliation, breaks that have been repaired, tree topped-off a foot or more above ground.

SEVERE DAMAGE: Loss of tree or incipient loss of tree, tree chopped off less than a foot above ground level.

Lowell School

Of 28 Black Acacias and Locusts planted June 8, 1978, an inspection June 1, 1979 revealed that one tree was totally lost, three trees had varying degrees of damage to the cambium layer, one of the trees was snapped off at the top but still growing, and one tree looked diseased.

Using the previously described three-level classification of damage, the tree survival is:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
1	4%	Mild
4	14%	Moderate
1	4%	Severe
6	22%	Sub-total, damaged
22	---	Undamaged
28	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

It should be noted at this time that the degree of damage recorded may be a function of when the observation was made relative to the time any specific damage occurred. For example, chopping of the cambium may appear to be severe damage shortly after damage occurs, yet later observation after the wound heals will be seen as only a slight blemish in the bark. Also, trees that have been topped-off may appear to be totally lost, yet new growth appears and the tree may look nearly normal at a later observation date.

Filbert Street

Thirty-eight Reywood Ash were planted at Filbert Street June 10, 1978. These trees were inspected April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. Nineteen of the trees had been damaged to one degree or another. In an earlier episode, a mentally retarded youth in the neighborhood had destroyed two trees because he felt that he was not included in the tree planting effort. He was then asked to re-plant the trees and to be their guardian. This he did. Also, a series of slashes had been made at the trees soon after they were planted. The OTTF staff made a trip out to repair the damaged trees with tar and the trees were recovering nicely when inspected.

One tree had been lost when a Victorian house was moved into a vacant lot from a truck. The only way the house could go into the site was over the tree. Two of the trees had been topped-off, and one had the cambium layer completely girdled.

Classifying the damage revealed:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
10	26%	Mild damage
3	8%	Moderate damage
6	16%	Severe damage
19	50%	Sub-total, damaged
19	---	Undamaged
38	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

29th Street

Eight Pin Oaks were planted on 29th Street August 26, 1978. The trees were observed April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. The most severely damaged tree was in front of an apartment house. In interviews with the neighbors it was reported that destructive children live in the apartment house and that it was these children who damaged the tree. This tree had been snapped halfway, and had been treated with a splint and tar, and was recovering. Another had half the cambium layer gone for 15" to 18" but the tree was recovering. Another had five major slash marks in the cambium layer. Even though these trees are listed as moderate damage by our criteria, they are at the higher end of moderate.

The tree damage at 29th Street, by our criteria of damage, is:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
1	13%	Mild damage
3	38%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
4	50%	sub-total, damaged
4	---	Undamaged
8	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

56th Avenue

Fourteen London Plane trees were planted on 56th Avenue September 23, 1978. The trees were inspected April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. Both inspections found the trees to be in excellent shape, well watered, with vigorous growth. It should also be noted that 56th Avenue is a very attractive neighborhood adjacent to Mills College, and that the yards are neat, attractive, and well trimmed. Two trees only had some small limbs broken off. There were no slash marks or other signs of vandalism to the trees.

By our criteria of tree damage, the trees were:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
2	14%	Mild damage
0	0%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
2	14%	Sub-total, damaged
12	---	Undamaged
14	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

82nd Avenue

Fourteen Norway Maple Trees were planted at 82nd Avenue on October 7, 1978. Revisitations took place on April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. Two trees had been topped-off between the April and June visitations. Two trees appeared

to need water, and one tree had damage to the cambium layer which was growing back.

According to our criteria of damage, the trees were:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
2	13%	Mild damage
3	20%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
5	33%	Sub-total, damaged
10	---	Undamaged
15	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

Center Street

Center Street was the site of a planting of 18 California Pepper trees on October 21, 1978. Site visitations took place on April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. One tree was badly defoliated by the second visit. The tree appeared to be watered and cared for, although one feature was noted: the tree had a deep basin, leading to the question of whether or not the person caring for the tree was drowning the tree. All other trees were in excellent shape.

In terms of our criteria of tree survival, the statistics are:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
0	0%	Mild damage
1	6%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
1	6%	Sub-total, damaged
17	---	Undamaged
18	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

Linden Street

Nineteen Magnolias were planted on Linden Street on December 9, 1978. Two site visitations took place after the trees were planted, one on April20, 1979 and one on June 1, 1979. Some damage was done to the staking of the trees at this site, but this was not judged to be of any consequence as the trees were of good size and did not require any staking.

One tree had been hit at the base, one had been slashed a little and some small limbs broken off, and one tree appeared to need water. Overall, the trees were in excellent shape.

By our classification system, the trees were:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
3	16%	Mild damage
0	0%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
3	16%	Sub-total, damaged
16	---	Undamaged
19	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

88th Avenue

Twenty Magnolias were planted at the 88th Avenue site on a wet Monday, January 15, 1979, when the Saturday scheduled planting had to be changed. Site visitations were conducted on April 20, 1979 and on June 1, 1979. On the first site visit many of the trees had slash marks on the cambium, and appeared to be in very poor shape. One tree had its roots exposed by someone who had pulled the dirt out from the roots to the sidewalk. By the second site

visit the tree with the exposed roots had been replanted and watered, and the slash marks had healed and all that remained were minor blemishes on the tree trunks where the slash marks had been. On the second site visit it was noted that four of the trees had new bark damage, one with 40% loss of the cambium at one place. A neighbor reported that he had seen a kid damage one of the trees. Two trees were dry, with one getting defoliated. Two trees had limbs broken off, and one tree was sawn off at about three feet off the ground level.

By our criteria of damage, the statistics are:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
6	30%	Mild damage
3	15%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
9	45%	Sub-total, damaged
11	---	Undamaged
20	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

49th Street

Twenty-three Chinese Hackberry were planted at the 49th Street site on February 24, 1979. Two site inspections took place, one on April 20, 1979 and one on June 1, 1979. Based on these observations, three trees were missing, two were topped-off, and one was yellow, damaged by insects, and in poor health. One of the trees had been re-staked in such a manner as to bend the tree. In interviews with the neighbors, two sources of damage to the trees were identified. One was children from a housing development down the street

(49th Street at the planting site was a nice residential area). The other source of damage was the Employment Development Agency at the corner of 49th and Broadway. According to the residents, people queued up along the street waiting to go to the Employment Development Agency would vandalize the trees.

Using our criteria of survival, the data are:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
1	4%	Mild damage
3	13%	Moderate damage
3	13%	Severe damage
7	30%	Sub-total, damaged
16	---	Undamaged
23	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

21st Avenue

Eighteen Magnolia trees were planted on 21st Avenue on February 25, 1979. The trees were re-visited on April 20, 1979 and June 1, 1979. On the first visit all trees were in good shape except one which needed water. By the second visit six of the trees had been damaged, although most damage was mild. The one which appeared to need water had lost some leaves, but new growth was appearing.

Using the three-level criteria of damage, the statistics are:

Number	Rate of damage	Degree of damage
5	28%	Mild damage
1	6%	Moderate damage
0	0%	Severe damage
6	33%	Sub-total, damaged
12	---	Undamaged
18	---	TOTAL TREES PLANTED

Other types of plantings

In addition to the residential plantings previously described, there were plantings on hillsides (Jungle Hill), plantings in forest parks (Joaquin Miller Park), freeway plantings (Grove-Shafter Freeway), and a Christmas tree farm (Our Lady's Home). Many of these areas are not easily assessable to watering, or are not dependent on watering schedules of residents, and there are a few of the trees which have died, apparently due to a lack of water. None of the residential street trees planted by OTTF or ON TOP are simply dead due to a lack of water (as of June, 1979). Also, vandalism to trees planted on off-residential sites is frequently not the problem it is to residential trees. For these reasons, no direct comparisons are made between survival rates of residential trees and off-residential trees.

City planted trees

Many trees have been planted by the City of Oakland directly through the Community Development Districts. Since the C.D. Districts administer Federal revenue-sharing funds, one requested use of the funds is to plant street trees. In this use of funds, the C.D. Districts have employed the City of Oakland as a contractor to plant the trees for them, at a cost of approximately $100 per tree that requires sidewalk cuts and $65 per tree that does not require sidewalk cuts. City planted trees are planted during the

work-day week by regular city crews with no fanfare or publicity, and no community participation in the planting, although they do have to request the street trees.

In order to make some comparisons between the two, let us look at the number of sites planted under each program. This table tells us more about where the trees were planted than how many trees were planted, since the City plantings often entailed more trees per site.

City planted trees and Tree Planting Program planted trees differ substantially in the location of their planting sites, see Table I. The OTTF/ON TOP community participation planting efforts have focused their activities in the Elmhurst and West Oakland Community Development Districts, those classified as poverty areas earlier during the Model Cities era. By contrast, the City planted trees have gone into North Oakland, a more wealthy area, and few planting sites have been in the poorer areas, especially West Oakland.

In terms of tree survival of City planted trees, only a few of the sites have been visited on June 1, 1979, and informal observations only gained at that time. In some of the sites visited there were trees, in some cases 2 or 3 in a row, that were dead, trees whose leaves were brown and the tree clearly dead. None of the residential street trees planted by OTTF or ON TOP were standing dead with brown leaves as of the end of this report period, June, 1979.

TABLE I

SITES PLANTED BY PLANTING ORGANIZATION
(RESIDENTIAL STREET TREES ONLY)

PLANTING ORGANIZATION	SITES PLANTED: C.D. DISTRICTS (%s OF PLANTING ORGANIZATION)						
	Chinatown Central	Central E. Oakland	Elmhurst	Fruitvale	North Oakland	San Antonio	West Oakland
OTTF/ON TOP[1]	(1) 10%	(1) 10%	(3) 30%	(0) 0%	(1) 10%	(1) 10%	(3) 30%
OAKLAND CITY CREWS[2]	(1) 3%	(3) 9%	(4) 13%	(4) 13%	(13) 40%	(6) 19%	(1) 3%

[1]Data complete through June 9, 1979.

[2]Data complete through April 23, 1979.

Tree Survival by Level of Festivity of Tree Planting Activity

One of the original guiding hypotheses of this study of the Oakland Tree Planting Program was that the level of activity and/or festivity would make a difference in tree survival rates. That is, the more festive the tree planting ceremony the greater the rate of tree survival. The crucial mechanisms relating festivity to survival would be the degree to which the trees were perceived to be important to the community, important to each resident personally, and that the trees were deserving of care and protection.

Overall, there does not appear to be a consistent relationship between the level of ceremony and activity and the rate of damage to the trees, see Table II. If anything, among the trees damaged, the more the tree planting ceremony, the more severe the damage to the damaged trees.

Why is our hypothesis, that the greater the planting festivity the greater the rate of tree survival, not supported empirically? Although it is far too easy to offer explanations after the fact, one possible explanation is that the greater ceremony was placed where it was thought to be needed the most; i.e., in the poorer neighborhoods or neighborhoods subject to high vandalism rates. As evidence to support this alternative hypothesis it should be noted that the areas with high rates of moderate and severe tree damage which are also the areas of high festivity at the tree

TABLE II

LEVEL OF TREE DAMAGE BY LEVEL OF PLANTING CEREMONY
(RESIDENTIAL PLANTINGS BY OTTF AND ON TOP)

LEVEL OF CEREMONY	LEVEL OF TREE DAMAGE			SUB-TOTAL DAMAGED	NO DAMAGE	TOTAL TREES
	SEVERE[1]	MODERATE[2]	MILD[3]			
BLOCK PARTY NEIGHBORHOOD P. SPONSORED MUSIC AND FOOD	(6) 11%	(4) 7%	(10) 18%	(20) 36%	(36)	(56) 100%
BLOCK PARTY NEIGHBORHOOD P. NO SPONSORED MUSIC OR NO SPONSORED FOOD	(3) 4%	(9) 11%	(9) 11%	(21) 27%	(58)	(79) 100%
NEIGHBORHOOD PARTICIPATION NO PARTY	(0) 0%	(4) 11%	(11) 29%	(14) 37%	(23)	(38) 100%

[1]Severe damage= Loss of tree or incipient loss of tree, tree chopped off less than a foot above ground level.

[2]Moderate damage=Damage to cambium layer, severe defoliation, breaks that have been repaired, tree chopped off a foot or more above ground level.

[3]Mild damage=Branches broken, minor damage to cambium, minor water deficiency, damage to staking of tree.

planting ceremony were Filbert Street and Center Street, both areas in West Oakland which is a poverty area.

CONCLUSION

One of the most crucial questions to be asked about the tree plantings of OTTF and ON TOP, the two community participation-based tree planting programs, is: are the trees surviving? Are trees planted under this kind of program surviving at a better rate than trees planted by City street crews with no fanfare, publicity, or neighborhood participation? Finally, what features of the planting, say the degree of festivity of the ceremony, make for high tree survival rates?

Based on a limited one year's span of evidence, it appears that most of the trees planted by the OTTF and ON TOP group are surviving well, and from the limited evidence available, surviving at a higher rate than trees planted by City work crews. Of the trees that are damaged, most of the damage is mild damage. Finally, it should be noted that the trees have great recouperative power and that what may be listed as moderate damage one day may pass almost unnoticed as a mild blemish at a later time.

From site visits and interviews with the residents, people are taking care of the trees, they are watering them, and they are re-staking trees and trying to repair damaged trees or seeking help for damaged trees.

The limited data available do not support the hypothesis that the higher the level of festivity at a tree planting the greater the rate of tree survival. It is speculated that these inconsistent findings may be related to the fact that the more festive plantings were scheduled at the sites where the highest degree of tree vandalism was anticipated in an effort to reduce tree vandalism. If this is the case, the festivity could have reduced vandalism from a potentially much higher rate. It should be cautioned that after-the-fact speculation should not be considered explanation.

In summary, there is evidence to support the hypothesis that trees planted under the community participation programs are surviving and doing so at a higher rate than trees planted by the Oakland Public Works Department without community participation.

CHAPTER VII

EVALUATION OF THE OAKLAND TREE PLANTING PROGRAM

A systematic evaluation of the Oakland Tree Planting Program must start with an understanding of its goals. It is only when we understand what the organization is trying to do that we can tell to what extent they have succeeded or not succeeded.

Goals of the OTTF

A primary stated goal of the Oakland Tree Task Force is to plant 100,000 trees in the city of Oakland. No timetable was set for the attainment of this goal; it serves simply as a motivating force for future accomplishments. In fact, approximately 50 per cent of the miles of Oakland streets are without trees. Also, aerial photography comparing Oakland in 1937 versus 1977 shows that without any doubt Oakland has been denuded of trees since the 1930s. In short, a program of massive urban reforestation is needed to restore Oakland to its prior state.

Esthetically, urban trees add a great deal to the quality of an environment. Trees provide color, contrast, shade, and pattern to streets. Additionally, trees have a symbolic function. "Vienna woods," the "Black Forest," etc. form collective representations, or symbols, which people use to orient themselves and add meaning to their

lives. From an ecological standpoint, trees filter particulants out of the air, remove carbon dioxide, add oxygen, as well as provide a place for birds and other animals to live. From a purely monetary standpoint, street trees can add value to the houses. From a psychological perspective, trees and greenery make an area more restful and tranquil, making the area a nicer place in which to live.

A sub-goal of the tree planting program was to put the new trees where they were needed the most; that is on previously unforested streets.

In short, by most standards of evaluation, having street trees is a very valuable goal, although in many ways the assessment of this is itself based on values, not facts, as what may seem desirable by upper middle class administrators and professionals may not be seen as desirable by lower or lower middle class persons.

A secondary goal of the Tree Task Force was to make the tree plantings a citizen involvement and participation effort. Past experiences in Oakland and elsewhere have shown that trees planted without citizen involvement have not been effective due to widespread vandalism by school children as well as neglect. Trees planted by the City are viewed as "the City's problem." Hence, the residents of an area will not water or take care of the trees they did not plant, or trees in front of other people's houses,

or trees in front of vacant lots. As a consequence of this definition, the Oakland Tree Task Force was dedicated to community participation in the initiation of requests for trees, the species selection process, and the tree planting itself.

A tertiary goal of the Oakland Tree Task Force was to train urban foresters. While urban trees are not new, urban forestry in its present sense is. According to George Coombes, an urban forester has to be a multi-faceted person, conversant with trees, landscape architecture, and a knowledge of community dynamics, psychology, sociology, etc.[1] Tree survival today is less a function of tree biology and is more a function of acceptance by the community.

The goal of training urban foresters seems to be a meritorious goal. A CETA grant to hire urban forestry trainees made this goal a formal part of the OTTF organizational structure.

Alternative Means to the Ends

One question which should always be asked in evaluation research is whether or not the same ends could have been accomplished, much more efficiently lets say, through some alternative means. Could 100,000 trees be planted in the City of Oakland using the City street crews and result in the same survival rate, or at a competitive cost per surviving tree? Obviously "trees planted" cannot be the sole criterion variable, or the City planted trees

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[1]George Coombes, Extension Forester, U.C. Berkeley, presentation at the OTTF meeting September 21, 1978.

would win hands down over trees planted by a task force. According to estimates, it takes a tree 3 years to be "on its own." Hence tree survival for three years ought to be the criterion variable in evaluating the effectiveness of the two methods of tree planting.

To what extent could it be expected that the community residents would individually plant street trees on their own initiative? Here the facts must be interpreted as answering the question. If half the miles of streets in Oakland have no street trees, then the residents are not taking their own initiative to plant street trees.

Goals to Program Implementation

In the process of meeting goals, specific objectives are formulated which are derived from the goals, and a program of meeting the objectives is drawn up.

Organizationally, the OTTF was composed of a staff funded through a CETA grant and a California Department of Forestry (CDF) grant, with a project director, associate director, secretary-office manager, a photographer, a landscape architect, and eight urban forestry trainees. Tree planting sites were identifiable one, two, or three block areas, or similar sites, where the citizens had requested trees through their Community Development District. As sites were identified, they were assigned to one of the urban foresters for planning and implementation. Responsibilities were rotated among the staff as a training

aide. Each site coordinator was responsible for meeting with the community residents to secure their support, and select a tree species from a list of approved street trees. Often fundraising was needed to pay for the trees, since the CETA and CDF grants paid for personnel only. At many of the sites block parties were set up including music and barbecue lunches, and these had to be coordinated. Encroachment permits had to be secured giving permission to plant the trees. The sites had to be readied, holes dug, concrete sidewalk cuts made as required, and trees and equipment had to be lined up. In short, each site required a fair amount of preparation, planning, and coordination.

Community participation was gained in several ways. The OTTF held meetings periodically, at times as often as weekly, which were open to the general public and served the function of information exchange, guidance, involvement of citizens and C.D. group representatives, as well as personnel from involved and related agencies, such as Parks and Recreation, CDF, the U. S. Forest Service, etc. Fundraising activities involved other kinds of participation and involvement, and was successful in obtaining adopt-a-block sponsorship by prominant corporations in the area.

The tree species selection meetings involved the community and secured support for the trees. And, block parties, where held, got the neighbors out of the house

and involved in the planting, although the hard work of the plantings fell predominately on the OTTF or ON TOP staff or regular volunteers, i.e., the volunteers who tried to show up for each tree planting.

One desired outcome of community involvement at the local level is to make the residents more aware of trees, and public beauty. A sense of responsibility and commitment to the trees must be maintained to ensure tree survival.

Degree of goal success

The number of trees planted by the OTTF and ON TOP group from early 1978 to June 30, 1979, TABLE III, is:

Type of planting	Number of trees
Residential	191
Non-residential	1,497
TOTAL	1,688

These plantings were accomplished with grant funds of:

Type of grant	$ amount of grant*
CETA	$ 45,710
CDF	99,835
TOTAL	145,545

In addition to the grant funds, of course, there were corporate and private donations plus the contribution of time and effort by volunteers. Direct expenses per tree, counting only the grant support, was $86 per tree.

According to the Parks and Recreation Department, C. D. Districts are billed $100 per full-service 15 gallon tree, and $65 for each tree that does not require a

*Source: OCCUR 25th Anniversary Annual Report 1978-1979, p. 16.

TABLE III

TREES PLANTED BY LOCATION OF TREE AND PLANTING AGENCY

RESIDENTIAL		
Filbert Street	38	OTTF
29th Street	8	OTTF
56th Avenue	14	OTTF
82nd Avenue	15	OTTF
Center Street	18	OTTF
Linden Street	19	OTTF
88th Avenue	20	OTTF
49th Street	23	OTTF
21st Avenue	18	OTTF
81st Avenue	18	ON TOP
	191	
NON-RESIDENTIAL		
Arbor Day 1978	300	OTTF
Jungle Hill	200	OTTF
World Environment Day	12	OTTF
Black Forest	28	OTTF
Grove-Shafter Freeway	600	OTTF
Joaquin Miller Park	56	OTTF
Lake Merritt-May Day 1979	1	OTTF
Our Lady's Home	300	ON TOP
	1,497	
GRAND TOTAL	1,688	

sidewalk cut.* If these trees had been planted by Parks and Recreation, the cost would have been:

Type	Number	Cost each	$ amount
Residential FS	48[1]	$100	$ 4,800
Residential	143	65	9,295
Non-residential	1,497	65	97,305
TOTAL	1,688	---	$111,400

[1]The rate of FS, or trees requiring sidewalk cuts, is estimated to be 25%, memo from Tony Acosta, June 8, 1978.

For a cost of $66 per tree.

However, several factors should be noted, factors which make direct comparisons between these sets of figures impossible. First, the City price includes no planning of any kind, just planting of trees. The OTTF and ON TOP groups spent much of their time planning projects, such as greenhouses and seedling centers, "Jungle Hills," "Black Forests," and the like. Second, the figures relate to planted trees, not surviving trees. Histories of success, such as the Model Cities program which planted 2,000 trees in West Oakland only to have 5 survive 3 years later, would indicate that "trees planted" might not be the best criterion variable, or indicator. Third, there is the question of the social impact of the tree planting to the community. For City planted trees there was almost no social impact. For OTTF and ON TOP planted trees, based on interviews with residents and sponsoring agencies, there

*Source: Mr. Wetherton, Oakland Parks and Recreation.

was a tremendous social impact from the tree plantings. For the residents the planting provided a symbol, a collective representation, to provide meaning and orientation to their lives. In terms of "community," the planting was a source of introduction of neighbor to neighbor, many for the first time. Future plans for the block were drawn up as a result of the meeting of people. For the corporate sponsors it allowed them to meet the community residents, to feel a part of the city, and to win, possibly, goodwill at City Hall. These intangibles are difficult to "price out." From the perspective of the study staff, they are some of the most important products of the tree planting program. A developed sense of mastery over situations, the fulfillment of expectations, the enhancement of a sense of community: What are these worth to the city of Oakland? An unfortunate companion question that must be asked is what is the price of a Watts? A Newark? As events since the 60s have shown, the questions of salvation or destruction of cities is not an academic question pondered in "ivory towers," but a question answered by the people who live in our cities.

How effective was the OTTF group in training urban foresters? The procedure of rotating responsibilities for the plantings and for different aspects of the plantings seems to the study staff to be very effective as a training mechanism. Several separate pieces of evidence can be

produced by this study to assess the effectiveness of the urban forestry training. One supportive evidence is the fact that the group continued to work in a volunteer status after the termination of funding for the project. This showed commitment to professional goals, a very valuable component of their training. Another criterion of effectiveness is the reaction of the corporate sponsors who viewed the Tree Task Force as possessing a high degree of knowledge, skills, and organization. In the words of one sponsor, the OTTF was a group of "hard working people who did an excellent job." Finally, of course, is the observations of the tree plantings themselves which saw planting after planting conducted in a smooth well planned and organized routine, including block parties, music, food, and the like, in addition to trees, and the management of social relationships. Interviews with the residents at intervals following the plantings indicate very warm supportive feelings toward the tree planting process and the people who participated in the plantings.

How successful was the OTTF and ON TOP group in gaining citizen participation? As was pointed out earlier, there are many different types of communities who participated in the tree planting activities. Public meetings of OTTF and ON TOP have drawn together a wide diversity of persons interested in trees and interested in Oakland. Meetings have been held the entire year of this observational study

and have drawn audiences ranging from 25 to 200. Many of the people attend meeting after meeting, indicating a firm commitment to the organization and its goals. Volunteers at the plantings have come to planting after planting and worked hard. The residents of the communities have participated not only in the plantings but in the preparation of the lunches for block parties during the planting. The "corporate community" has participated in the tree planting activities through the adopt-a-block program as well as active participation in the plantings and other types of sponsorship of the activities. Professional communities have participated in the plantings and their activities including persons from the State, Federal Government, colleges and universities, and private professional organizations. The OTTF and ON TOP groups have participated in the professional community through attendance and participation in such events as the National Urban Forestry Conference and publication of papers in the Journal of Forestry. There has been cooperation among the OTTF/ ON TOP groups and the Public Works Department, Parks and Recreation, Office of Community Development, and other City, County, and State agencies. Finally, the OTTF and ON TOP groups have interacted with political communities, such as Governor Jerry Brown, and with the general public through press and T.V. coverage of the events. In summary, there

seems to be a great deal of community participation and involvement.

Has the public become more aware of trees? Based upon observations at the tree plantings and interviews with the residents it appears that they are more aware of trees and the beauty of their neighborhoods. Also, the involvement of the young people in such activities as Arbor Day poster contests and school field trips seems to be most helpful. Activities by children frequently force involvement, and sometimes interest, by the parent. And, of course, today's children are tomorrow's adults.

SUMMARY

In summary, the two citizen participation tree planting programs appear to be accomplishing their goals. They are planting trees, although perhaps at a lesser rate than is possible, the trees are surviving at what appears to be a higher rate than City planted trees, the program has trained urban foresters well as indexed by the responses of corporate sponsors, community participation has been gained at civic, professional, corporate, administrative, and community levels, and the publics served appear to be becoming more environmentally aware.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY

This report describes the results of a one-year study of the Oakland Tree Planting Program. The goals of this study are to monitor and review the tree planting program, to record its history and events, and to formulate a basis for a more quantative model for analyzing the degree of success of the tree planting outcomes.

It was decided by the Study Staff that this report be a resource for the study of the Oakland experience. As a resource, the study begins with a brief history of the Oakland Tree Task Force and ON TOP tree planting programs, describes Oakland and its Community Development Districts, presents the field observations of the tree plantings, and analyzes community and corporate participation in the plantings as well as analyzes tree survival rates. Finally, an attempt is made to abstract the better features of the tree planting programs as well as to suggest additional activities which could effect a more successful program.

The Oakland Tree Task Force was formed in early 1978 under the sponsorship of the Oakland Citizens Committee for Urban Renewal. OTTF, as it is called, adopted the goal of planting 100,000 trees in Oakland with citizen participation. Two grants, a CETA grant and a California Department of Forestry grant, provided manpower for the

project. By January 30, 1979 both grants had come to their normal termination. After the expiration of the grant funds, some of the former staff of OTTF incorporated a new tree planting group called ON TOP. ON TOP has continued the residential street tree planting program, while the surviving OTTF group, under new leadership, has preserved the organization and sought additional funding for a variety of projects covering environmental education as well as tree planting. Both OTTF and ON TOP will receive additional funding for the new fiscal year starting July 1, 1979, but the exact sums are not known by the Study Staff at this time.

Oakland is a city of many contrasts. On the one hand it has an ideal location on the San Francisco Bay and one of the world's five unique Mediterranean climates. On the other hand, Oakland has had a history of poverty in many of its areas, as well as a history of political apathy. Currently Oakland is viewed by many as a "test site" for social programs; its current Community Development Districts are a legacy of the earlier Model Cities program.

Reports developed during the Model Cities programs stress the need for citizen participation, the need for street trees, and the need to capitalize upon and develop the urban neighborhood. The Oakland Tree Planting Program fits well into the context of suggestions from the Model

Cities program. The fact that over half of all the miles of Oakland city streets are treeless, and the fact that Oakland had many more trees 30 years ago than it does today, testify to the need for additional urban trees.

The Oakland Tree Task Force and the ON TOP tree planting programs have participated in both residential and non-residential tree plantings. Many of the residential tree plantings were adopt-a-block plantings, supported by contributions from a corporate sponsor. Tree plantings varied from "work party" plantings to highly festive occasions with a band and a barbecue lunch. Descriptions of the plantings are presented in the hope that analyses of the pattern, order, and regularities in the events can lead to a better understanding of the tree planting process.

A central assumption of the OTTF/ON TOP groups, and of this study, is that citizen participation makes a difference in the tree survival rate of the plantings and is, hence, necessary to the tree planting program. From sociological literature as well as the recommendations of the Model Cities planning studies, citizen participation in urban descision-making is seen as mandatory to success. From the statistical base of this study there is only allusive evidence to this point to date. However, based upon interviews with the community residents, there is no equivocation on this point. The community residents are

very pleased, and thankful, to be able to help make the decisions about the street trees as well as to be able to participate in the plantings. They are proud of their trees, and, they are watering and protecting them. In interviews with the residents, the Study Staff has been informed that the residents would be very displeased with decisions forced upon them from outside. From the evidence we have available, trees planted by the City with limited citizen participation are dying at a faster rate than trees planted with citizen participation.

Corporate participation in the tree plantings is an additional type of community participation to that of the neighborhood residents. It is found that corporate participation has several pay-offs. The neighborhood residents are pleased that someone is interested in them. This outside interest made the plantings more important and hence more "symbolic." The Corporations were pleased that they had a "safe" way to display a sense of public responsibility. Trees were safe because they have near-universal appeal and there was little opportunity for the gift to be seen as self-serving. Finally, it was noted, the gift could stand them well in City Hall.

In evaluating the tree planting program it was noted that the spin-offs from the planting process may be as important as the trees themselves. That is, the plantings served as a source of introduction of neighbor to neighbor,

neighbor to volunteer, and neighbor to corporate executives. This association developed a sense of community that otherwise would not have developed. Re-interviews with the residents indicate that many community events have happened as a consequence of the plantings, such as community gardens and neighborhood protection groups, and that more are planned.

Finally, in trying to summarize the qualities of effective tree plantings, it was interpreted that activities which fostored social participation were most effective. Music and food serve to induce people to come out of their houses and participate in the plantings. Payment for digging holes can ensure the participation and consequently the support of the older teenagers, an especially hard-to-reach group. Name tags, Logo Tee-shirts, and the like enhance the communication process and reduce the artificial social barriers to communication. The presence of political dignitaries and corporate sponsors helps to make a significant event out of the planting. Symbolization of the event is effective since the more the residents think of the event the more likely they are to think about the trees and hence to water and maintain them.

In summary, the planting of urban trees is seen as an old process recast into an entirely new social context. To plant urban trees today and to have them survive is an elaborate social process linking the formal agencies of City

County, State, and perhaps Federal, governments with private citizens, community residents, and perhaps corporate sponsors. Based upon the evidence uncovered by this year-long study of urban tree planting in Oakland, California, community participation is a neccessary aspect of urban tree planting and is predictive of a more successful tree planting outcome as well as predictive of an enhanced sense of community.

CHAPTER VIII

AN IDEAL-TYPE TREE PLANTING EFFORT

This chapter presents a summary of the lessons learned from this participant observation study of the Oakland Tree Planting Program. The best parts of the experiences have been abstracted, and extrapolations from the factual evidence have been made where tempered professional judgment indicates that this is appropriate. The following qualities of a tree planting seem appropriate.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Based upon interviews with residents, as well as a growing basis of sociological literature, community participation in the tree plantings seems mandatory. This participation must take place at several levels, the most important of which is participation in the species selection and the exact placement of the tree on the street. The residents of the neighborhoods say they are tired of people doing things "at them," i.e., without their desires or participation. Most were very vocal in their appreciation of the fact that they were involved in the selection and placement of the trees. And, where the community participation broke down, as it did on 49th Street for a while where the selected species was not available, the extreme negative reaction signifies the depth of conviction favoring community participation. Care must be taken in

gaining community participation to favor adult participation. In several occasions, children brought to meetings due to a lack of sitting arrangements tried to dominate the discussions and make the decisions. One simple solution to this problem is to provide child care and activities during meetings to prevent disruption to the decision-making process.

A second area of community participation is the participation of community leaders at the program level. Not only should formal participation be sought, but open meetings should also be held. This level of participation legitimizes the goals and activities of the tree planting program, and helps in the coordination of efforts of the many agencies and activities which must work together for the program to function. Oakland was fortunate to have a system of already established community development districts which could place representatives on a Board of Directors of a tree planting program. If these C.D. districts were not available, effort would have to be made to have civic groups supply representation, such as Rotary, Kiawanis, Elks, and local civic or civic improvement organizations. Rapport must also be established and maintained with city and county agencies, such as Parks and Recreation, Public Works, where there would be direct interaction between the goals and activities of the two agencies. Inter-agency cooperation is especially difficult

to maintain due to the horizontal relationships involved. No one agency is responsible for ensuring a cooperative relationship between parallel agencies.

A third area of community participation is corporate units, who may be involved in sponsorship of tree planting activities, or sponsorship in terms of publicity or endorsement of the goals of the tree planting activity. Any agency or organization's viability is partly a function of recognition or endorsement. Radio spot announcements, billboards in public transit, special projects sponsorship by schools, such as poster contests, or project Tee-shirts, can aid a tree planting program through public recognition and legitimation. Sponsorship of community projects by large corporations increases community pride and support for their own newly planted trees.

Within a neighborhood, the residents may have to be "recruited" somewhat to request trees. This process does not violate the ideal of community participation. Slide shows demonstrating the visual impact of street trees and depicting a street tree planting are effective means of creating a demand for trees. Once this demand materializes, it is necessary to achieve solid support for the tree planting. Public meetings for species selection must be held, and commitment gained from both husband and wife, as appropriate. In families where there is little basis for power, a debate with a tree planting agency over

whether or not a tree was going to be planted would be a welcome change. The solution to this problem is simple: have both family members sign a petition requesting the tree and designating its placement on the street.

During a tree planting, the efforts of the residents have to be organized and an even tempo of plantings maintained. First, the residents have to be motivated to come out of their houses and work. Music, especially live music, and food appears to be near universals in this process. Time and day are important also. Saturdays, especially, and Sundays to a lesser extent, appear good. Plantings covering the 10:00 am to 2:00 pm period appear to have been most effective. The holes for the trees frequently have to be dug the day prior to the planting. One mechanism for obtaining community involvement here is to pay teenage youth in the community to dig the holes. Generally, older teenagers are the most difficult age group from which support must be obtained, and one of the most critical, since they are the most likely to damage the trees if they do not support the effort. Involving the youth in digging the holes is an ideal means of securing involvement and, by implication, support in the project.

Activities which take some degree of time, such as can cutting, should be accomplished early so that the

progress of tree plantings is not stalled. Breaks in the continuity of effort reduce the spirit of the group a great deal and hence should be avoided.

Plantings should move successively down a block so that it is clear what is being done, and so that the focus of attention can be turned on one tree at a time. A sub-group of the planting team can do the staking of a tree while the next one is being planted.

Barbecue luncheons, where employed, should be ready at a time specified, usually noon. Community residents are put off by delays, and the timing of the luncheon may be just as important as the timing of the tree plantings. Where the preparation of the lunch involves tree planting organization personnel, this may present a problem of coordination of efforts. A solution to this problem is to have the neighbors prepare the lunch. Having the residents prepare the lunch involves a segment of the population in the tree planting activities which would not, in all probability, take part in the plantings themselves.

Another aspect of community participation which has been demonstrated to be functional is to personalize neighbor to neighbor, and neighbor to Tree Task Force member. The use of distinctive "Tree Logo" name tags is very useful in this regard. Not only is the interaction between residents and Task Force members facilitated, but

also the interaction between neighbor and neighbor, as our research has indicated that the tree plantings were an occasion of first meeting for many of the residents.

Forming an identification between the adults in the community and the trees is another important aspect of a tree planting. One mechanism for securing an identification between the residents and their trees is name tags placed on the tree giving the name of the "owner." A light approach may be the best here, such as the "I am a new babe in the woods" tags employed by the OTTF.

One mechanism for forming an identification between the trees and the younger children of the neighborhood is to have the children name the tree. Asking for a verbal commitment to water and take care of the trees is significant also. Of course, gaining the commitment of the older youth who would be most likely to vandalize the trees is of extreme importance. One mechanism to gain their support is to appoint them to protect the trees. This mechanism, co-optation, is usually very successful.

Simple party-type activities following the conclusion of a tree planting, such as an apple dunking, as was used on Center Street, tend to solidify the social bond between residents and Task Force participants.

Turning the tree planting into a symbolic event is another mechanism for gaining the continued cooperation and support of the community residents. Many of the areas of

the city which are or will be targeted for tree plantings are uneventful residential areas. Several mechanisms for transforming a tree planting into a significant event, or symbol, for the residents is the presence of dignitaries during the planting and/or commerative markers or plaques. By turning the planting into a symbolic event, its importance is preserved, and hence its motivating effect to enhance tree care and tree survival.

The presence at a tree planting of the press and/or photographic and aural preservation also enhance the significance of the tree planting as an event and facilitate participation in and identification with the tree planting project.

In summary, community participation must be managed to enhance the symbolic meaning of the tree planting. Those things which facilitate the image of the tree planting as a significant symbolic event include maintaining interest through smooth coordination of events, getting the people out on the street and gaining support through participation, and demonstrating the importance of the event to external social publics, such as the presence of dignitaries, use of commerative plaques, presence of the press, cameramen, etc. Factors reducing the symbolic meaning of the event include slowdowns or hangups in the planting, allowing family members to quarrel over the acceptance or placement of a tree, holding the plantings during a week-day when

few residents could attend, allowing the noise/music level to be low, and in general reducing its impact upon the community residents.

Volunteer effort

Given the fiscal limitations of most communities, and the pressing needs of human services generally, trees can have low priorities in these times of budget crunches. Many tree planting groups can not rely on continued funding from State, Federal, or private grants. Therefore, the development and maintenance of a group of volunteers is essential. What is the proper care and feeding of a volunteer?

The most committed volunteers are likely to come from corollary public service organizations--persons employed in governmental, Federal, State, or County, or private service agencies. It seems essential, therefore, to develop and maintain the interest of professionals by open public meetings conducted in a professional way, held at a time when they are able to attend. Based upon observation, the concerned employed professional is likely to be the volunteer who sticks with the organization and does the work. Evidences of a well planned meeting makes a good impression. Regular meeting schedules allow busy people to plan to attend meetings. Cancelled meetings, irregular meeting schedules or places, and the like, tend to reduce interest and make the volunteer wonder what is happening to the organization.

Local colleges, universities, and similar institutions, are logical sources for volunteers also, especially students from related disciplines such as forestry, ornamental horticulture, city planning, and the like.

Churches are sources of socially concerned citizens. They should be exploited, through announcements by the pastor, to recruit persons for the local tree plantings. Then, the effort should be made to involve them in other plantings and to continue their effort for the "wider community."

Civic, business, and professional groups, Chambers of Commerce, Kiwanis, Elks, Rotary, etc. should be surveyed as a source of potential volunteers.

While this list of possible sources for the recruitment of volunteers is by no means exhaustive, it identifies some of the likely areas for recruitment of dedicated volunteers.

Once on the planting site, volunteer effort should be coordinated along with the efforts of paid staff, should there be paid staff. Volunteers are no more likely to know what to do without guidance and direction than paid staff. The assumption should be made that they are there to help. From the volunteer's perspective, it gives him or her a sense of belonging to be assumed one of the group than to be treated as a tentative outsider. The statement "we are over here" provides a more heartwarming sense of inclusion than "please join <u>us</u>." These subtle distinctions in the management of interpersonal relations can pay great dividends in terms of volunteer effort.

Corporate involvement

Corporate involvement in the tree planting effort is quite different from the involvement of private citizen volunteers. At stake is the subtle arrangement of private enterprise in our society and the cities in which they operate. To ask a business to help revitalize a city is in some ways to suggest that the city is in need of help because of something the business did (or otherwise, why should they help?). The whole issue of corporate responsibility to the public is dramatically changing, yet it is very sensitive as well. The emerging definition is that corporations do have some responsibilities to the communities in which they do business. As one corporate sponsor said at one of the tree plantings, "I have been taking from the city of Oakland for years, now this (the planting) is my chance to put something back." Given the existence of these motives to try to help, which may run the gamut from altruism to rationalization, as we discovered in interviews, one should try to capitalize on them. In an era when many institutions are coming under attack, trees really do make "safe" corporate investments. There is no possible counterattack of "See, they are just trying to rip us off again." Tree planting programs should sieze on the saftey and universal appeal of the investment, for trees literally appeal to people from the "cradle to the grave." Trees beautify the community, purify the air, help balance the ecology, and they increase property values as well.

There is something for everybody in a tree.

Another aspect of corporate involvement that should be exploited by the tree programs to gain corporate sponsorship is that it allows the corporate executives to become known in the community in an informal way. Many corporations are eager for their executives to participate in the community and pay for their memberships in civic associations such as Kiwanis, Rotary, Elks, etc., where the executives meet other business or professional level people. But, there do not appear to be many mechanisms whereby the executives can become known by residents of the local community. Here is a mechanism! The executives can be seen and met in an informal work situation and be seen doing things to improve the community. Association is, of course, one of the primary means of reducing the artificial social barriers between people.

FOLLOW-UP EFFORT

Sociologists do not know the "half-life" of enthusiasm, but the folk adage described the situation well hundreds of years ago: "Out of sight, out of mind." Once the trees are planted, one should not let the community residents forget about the trees or their care. The most direct solution to this problem is periodic revisitations by members of the tree planting group. Where such use of manpower is not possible, mailings or flyers, giving advice

on the tree care would serve to keep the trees in the residents's minds. The flyer could be a statement such as : "Now is the time to fertalize your tree," or some similar advice. The instructions themselves may be less important than the fact of periodic contact.

Tree plantings in a neighborhood appear to be one of the strongest inducements for new requests for trees. Shortly after a tree planting in a neighborhood, a canvass of adjacent blocks should be made to keep the momentum of the plantings in an area going.

Follow-up with corporate sponsors may be no less important than follow-up with community residents. One of the simplest mechanisms of contact may be to put corporate sponsors on the mailing list of the announcements for future tree plantings. Just as with other volunteers, church, civic, etc., the notion to project is one of an expanded community of effort.

SUMMARY

This chapter has tried to present, not a cookbook of how to plant trees, but rather an abstraction over some of the insights gained in the study of community involvement in the Oakland Tree Planting Program.

From sociological literature as well as from interviews with the residents, it has been determined that community involvement in the tree planting programs is essential to

its success. Children and adults must be brought into the effort, although care must be exercised to ensure that children are not put in a position to make adult decisions. The input of community leaders must be sought and maintained. It is suggested that open meetings conducted at a professional level is the most efficient means of capturing professional interest in the program. Corporate participation in the tree planting program is essential also. Not only does corporate participation enhance the self-esteem of community members, but it allows a "safe" avenue for corporations to display public responsibility. In approaching corporations the safeness of the venture should be capitalized upon.

Frictions between community participants must be minimized. The most likely area for friction is between family members in the community. One area of concern is husband-wife power plays that might develop over the trees. Here the easiest solution is simply to have both husbands and wives endorse petitions for the trees.

Inducements for participation in plantings should be offered. Based upon this research the notion of food should not be downplayed. In interviews many of the community residents had their strongest rememberances of the planting about the good food and congenial atmosphere of the planting. Money in the form of salaries for digging holes is a very good inducement for the older teenager, a

category whose interest and attention appears to be the most difficult to capture.

An orderly tempo of the plantings appears essential to the maintenance of interest in a planting. Personalization appears to be another successful ingrediant of successful plantings--this included personalization of neighbor to neighbor, neighbor to tree planting volunteer, and neigbor to corporate sponsor, if there is one, as well as resident to tree. Simple mechanisms such as names, name tags, and a happy congenial atmosphere for the planting do a great deal to reduce the artificial barriers between people.

Turning the planting into a symbolic event is also a very effective means of ensuring a successful outcome to the tree planting. For many of the areas, little is likely to happen on a year-in, year-out basis. Make the planting an experience the residents will never forget.

Finally, keep reminding the residents of the planting to ensure that they never forget.